

MESZAROS, ELIZABETH PAIGE, Ph.D. "All Modern Conveniences": Multi-family Housing Choice, the Apartment, and the Modernization of Raleigh, North Carolina, 1918-1929. (2012)
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This dissertation argues that city planners and boosters in 1920's Raleigh, North Carolina, advocated that she was to be a "residence city" based on single-family homes in exclusive suburbs for the white middle-class. However, both realtor-developers and private homeowners chipped away at the symbol of the "residence city." Raleigh was to be modern, but it was a modernity based not just on the rhetoric of city leaders who emphasized the single-family home. It was a modernity based on the actions and desires of realtor-developers who were anxious to exploit the new architectural form of the apartment house. It was also a modernity based on the decisions of individual, private, homeowners to incorporate non-family members into their households to earn additional income and contribute to their family's economic prosperity. Homeowners in some ways rejected the "residence city" because they rented out portions of their homes to non-family members. In other ways, they embraced the symbols of the white, affluent, suburb by insisting on architectural solutions, such as porches and private entrances, which emphasized the value of privacy and by complying with restrictive housing covenants which barred sale or rental of properties to African Americans in perpetuity. Realtor-developers also rejected the "residence city" because they chose to invest money in multi-family apartment houses in addition

to single-family home developments like Boylan Heights, Cameron Park, Glenwood-Brooklyn, and Oakwood.

The “residence city” was a philosophy put forth by city boosters in which the single-family home became *the* symbol of progress and refinement—a modern philosophy for a modern place. It was the way in which Raleigh business leaders expressed the concept of the “suburban ideal” locally. In the eyes of these city boosters, Raleigh would not be a city of transients and renters instead, it would become a bastion of southern success through an army of white, affluent, suburban homeowners. The “residence city” was newly constructed in the 1920s to help control the socio-economic composition of Raleigh’s suburbs as they competed for land space with already established communities that did not conform to the vision of racially and economically sorted neighborhoods. The popularity of multi-family housing solutions in the form of boarding houses, apartments within single-family houses, and new apartment houses contradicted the vision of the “residence city” made up of single-family, suburban homes.

This study contributes to the fields of urban history, suburban history, southern history, and architectural history because it examines Raleigh’s transition from a town to a modern, southern city filled with new technologies and experimental housing forms. Most importantly, this dissertation contributes to the history of the New *urban* South and vernacular architecture history in terms of examining traditional multi-family housing patterns, the introduction of newer,

more modern multi-family housing options, and to suburban history by using an analysis of housing records (including city directories, newspaper classifieds, historic property registration and nomination forms, and suburban promotional brochures) coupled with modern fieldwork photographs. The tension between how Raleigh boosters, realtor-developers, and residents in the early decades of the twentieth century defined the “residence city,” in symbolic terms, and the actual practices of middle-class homeowners and realtor-developers alters our understanding of the history of the American suburb.

“ALL MODERN CONVENIENCES”: MULTI-FAMILY HOUSING CHOICE, THE
APARTMENT, AND THE MODERNIZATION OF RALEIGH, NORTH
CAROLINA, 1918-1929

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Thesis and Contribution

I wanted to write a story about my hometown of Raleigh, North Carolina, and the 1920s seemed to be a clear transitional moment in her history. Architecturally, the buildings in the period before and after the Great Depression of the 1930s differed radically from one another. With the rapid growth of the present city and new building construction, I see, daily, the destruction of much of the historic districts of downtown and in the first and second waves of suburbs. The beautiful Victorian-era business blocks of Fayetteville Street, adjacent to the State Capitol building, have been decimated. I was intrigued by how different Raleigh seemed, with its focus on education and government, from other southern cities (in North Carolina and in the wider southern region), which focused so much on industrial development. I wanted a project that helped me pursue my research interests about North Carolina, material culture, and architecture and one that would look, in varying degrees, at the relationships between socio-economic status, gender, and race.

This dissertation argues that city planners and boosters in 1920s Raleigh advocated that she was to be a “residence city” based on single-family homes in exclusive suburbs for the white middle-class. However, both realtor-developers,

who introduced the new apartment house form to downtown and suburban communities, as well as private homeowners, who subdivided their single-family suburban homes into multi-family living spaces, chipped away at the symbol of the “residence city.” Raleigh was to be modern, but it was a modernity based not just on the rhetoric of city leaders who emphasized the single-family home; it was a modernity based on the actions and desires of realtor-developers anxious to exploit the new architectural form of the apartment house and of private homeowners to incorporate non-family members into their households to earn additional income and contribute to their family’s economic prosperity.

The development of these suburban neighborhoods, which segregated blacks from whites and middle-class residents from working-class residents, was a part of the successful formula for a modern, Progressive, southern city. Sociologist and scholar W.E.B. Du Bois identified this pattern of residential segregation, as early as 1903, in his work *The Souls of Black Folk*. Du Bois wrote that, “As to physical dwelling. It is usually possible to draw in nearly every Southern community a physical color-line on the map, on the one side of which whites dwell and on the other Negroes.”¹ Although Du Bois found that the circumstances within individual communities could vary and that rarely did middle-class white districts develop alongside middle-class black districts, he argued that,

¹ W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903; repr., New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 79.

One thing, however, seldom occurs: the best of the whites and the best of the Negroes almost never live in anything like close proximity. It thus happens that in nearly every Southern town and city, both whites and blacks see commonly the worst of each other. This is a vast change from the situation in the past, when, through the close contact of master and house-servant in the patriarchal big house, one found the best of both races in close contact and sympathy, while at the same time the squalor and dull round of toil among the field-hands was removed from the sight and hearing of the family.²

The intertwining histories of suburbanization and segregation in the South, then, were a part of a new system of race relations that did not echo the past, but, instead, were a modern response to the transition from a rural to a more urbanized life.

The action of private homeowners to subdivide their houses into apartment spaces was an economically rational decision. Middle-class status in the 1920s, both nationally and regionally, was precarious (as discussed in Chapter 5). Homeownership was a dream for many Americans, but affordability was a major concern. In the case of Raleigh, economic desperation of residents who wanted to live in the exclusive, white, suburban neighborhoods of Boylan Heights, Cameron Park, and Glenwood-Brooklyn trumped the desire to maintain a private household. By opening their homes up to non-family members, some residents in Raleigh were able to purchase and maintain homes at exclusive addresses, in posh neighborhoods, with houses exploding with the latest and greatest technologies of the age including electricity, telephones, and indoor

² Du Bois, *Souls of Black Folk*, 80.

plumbing. By renting apartment space in a single-family house in a suburban neighborhood, renters for whom homeownership was unobtainable or undesirable, could achieve a respectable living situation. Special populations, such as “business girls,” “young married couples,” or “students,” could cope with economic difficulties by choosing apartment life.

This study contributes to the fields of urban history, suburban history, southern history, and architectural history because it examines Raleigh’s transition from a town housing the State Capitol to a modern southern city filled with new technologies and experimental housing forms. Most important, this dissertation contributes to the history of the New *urban* South and vernacular architecture history (in terms of multi-family housing forms and suburban history) by using an analysis of housing records (including Raleigh city directories, classified newspaper advertisements, and suburban promotional brochures) coupled with modern fieldwork photographs. The tension between how Raleigh boosters, realtor-developers, and residents in the early decades of the twentieth century defined the “residence city,” in symbolic terms, and the actual practice of middle-class homeowners alters our understanding of the suburbs. This study complicates our understanding of the difference between the symbolism of the southern suburb as a haven of single-family dwellings and the practical uses of houses by private homeowners who did not value family privacy over the income potential of their homes.

The “residence city” was a philosophy put forth by city boosters in which the single-family home became *the* symbol of progress and refinement—a modern philosophy for a modern place. It was a phrase specific to Raleigh and it originated from a city history authored by an amateur historian and lawyer named Moses Amis.³ It was not a national or regional expression of suburban life—it was a local idea. It was the way in which Raleigh business leaders, who adopted Amis’ idea of the “residence city,” chose to express the concept of the “suburban ideal” locally. In this “suburban ideal” the community was to be populated by single-family, detached houses nestled amongst tree-lined streets with appropriately landscaped yards and plantings. Neighborhoods in the suburbs would be clearly bounded so that it was easy to see the separation between the middle-class suburb and the urban core filled with working-class and African American communities. Houses were to be efficient, beautiful, technologically advanced, and reflective of a consumption-oriented lifestyle. In the eyes of these city boosters, Raleigh would not be a city of transients and renters; instead, it would become a bastion of southern success through an army of white, affluent, suburban homeowners.

Homeowners in Raleigh in some ways rejected the “residence city” because they rented out portions of their homes to non-family members. In other ways, they embraced the symbols of the white, affluent, suburb by insisting on

³ Moses N. Amis, *Historical Raleigh from its foundation in 1792: descriptive, biographical, educational, industrial, religious; reminiscences reviewed and carefully compiled* (Raleigh, NC: Edwards and Broughton, printers, 1902), 202.

architectural solutions, such as porches and private entrances, which emphasized the value of privacy, and by complying with restrictive housing covenants, which barred sale or rental of properties to African Americans. Realtor-developers also rejected the “residence city” because they chose to invest money in multi-family apartment houses in addition to single-family home developments like Cameron Park, Glenwood-Brooklyn, and Boylan Heights. The “residence city” was newly constructed in the 1920s to help control the socio-economic composition of Raleigh’s suburbs as they competed for land space with already established communities that did not conform to the vision of racially and economically sorted neighborhoods. The popularity of multi-family housing solutions in the form of boarding houses, apartments within single-family houses, and apartment houses contradicted the vision of the “residence city” made up of single-family, suburban homes. Multi-family housing in Raleigh was not restricted to working-class or African American neighborhoods, instead, it became an important housing choice among the middle-class, as the spatial patterns created out of housing records in the city directories and city maps indicate.

This dissertation engages an important debate within the scholarship of the New South about the leadership which helped to finance developing such urban projects as real estate businesses, subdivisions, and apartment housing in places across the region. Alongside issues of commercial agriculture and race supremacy is the question of whether the impetus for change in the New South

was homegrown or sourced from northern capital. Historian C. Vann Woodward has written about late nineteenth century northern impulse to make of the South, “opportunities and outlets for economic expansionism.”⁴ Historian Harold Platt has studied Texas and determined that the “needs and aspirations of the section [the South] included a dependency on Northern capital.”⁵ While Woodward’s argument is applicable to Federal land policy in the South and the southern railroad, to name a few examples, in Raleigh we can see that the development of downtown apartment houses and suburban neighborhoods was a localized project which was financed, marketed, and invested in by native sons. The realtor-developers such as Drake, York, Parker, and Hunter, discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 particularly, were southern. That these men were involved in business endeavors is no surprise, as Brownell and Goldfield have written, “the leadership in southern cities remained predominantly commercial, though the elite included a wider spectrum of middle class residents like professionals, real estate agents, and insurance brokers.”⁶ These men used southern capital and southern contractors to build architecture adapted for a conservative southern design aesthetic, which attracted residents to live in the new developments on the outskirts of Raleigh.

⁴ C. Vann Woodward, *A History of the South, Volume IX, Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 114.

⁵ Harold Platt, *City Building in the New South: The Growth of Public Services in Houston, Texas, 1830-1910* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1983), 211-212.

⁶ Blaine A. Brownell and David R. Goldfield, “Southern Urban History,” in *The City in Southern History: The Growth of Urban Civilization in the South* eds. Blaine A. Brownell and David R. Goldfield (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1977), 10.

From the perspective of urban historians, as opposed to New South historians, however, the path of southern city development, in places like Raleigh, more closely “paralleled city development in the nation as a whole.” Historian Blaine Brownell has identified several ways in which southern urbanization was similar to the northern experience. Southern cities experienced the introduction of new technologies such as the automobile, telephone, and electricity. The population of cities increased as suburban neighborhoods swelled with residents. Southern cities also experienced architectural innovation with the introduction of new forms such as the apartment house.⁷ But, Brownell’s colleague, David Goldfield reminds us that,

The southern city is still a different place from the urban North because the South remains a distinctive region...southern cities are similar in some respects to cities elsewhere yet are different in others...such differences derive from the South’s distinctiveness.⁸

In the southern building boom of the 1920s that distinctiveness was evident in the conservative architecture of single-family homes and in the hardening of racial and class divisions seen on the cityscape and in the boundaries of suburban neighborhoods.

Raleigh, in the 1920s, was somewhat unique compared to other southern cities in that she lacked a central industry; she housed much of the

⁷ Blaine A. Brownell, *The Urban Ethos in the South, 1920-1930* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1975), 8.

⁸ David R. Goldfield, *Region, Race, and Cities: Interpreting the Urban South* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 7-8.

administrative, government, and business functions of the state; her suburban developments were locally financed, and her population fluctuated seasonally as both government workers and students attending the numerous educational institutions in the city moved in and out of Raleigh proper. Dana F. White argues that Atlanta, for example, was founded solely for commercial purposes instead of administrative reasons and only became a state capital much later in its history. Atlanta also had a huge population explosion in the first decade of the twentieth century bringing the city's total from 90,000 to 150,000 individuals, dwarfing Raleigh's smaller size. However, like Raleigh's African American founded suburban neighborhoods of Oberlin, Method, Lincolnville, Idlewild, and College Park, Atlanta in the 1920s saw the introduction of black entrepreneur Herman Perry's Washington Park as a suburban development for African Americans.⁹

The African American population of Raleigh was also engaged in different kinds of economic activities than in other North Carolina cities such as Durham. Durham's big tobacco industry supported black factory workers and other African American men worked as carpenters, brickmasons, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, and cotton mill operatives while their wives, mothers, and sisters often worked in domestic service.¹⁰ In contrast, Raleigh had no central industry employing African Americans although some, living in the working-class Smokey Hollow

⁹ Dana F. White, "Forward: The Dogwood and the Dollar," in *The American Institute of Architects Guide to the Architecture of Atlanta*, ed. Gerald W. Sams (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1993), xix, xxii.

¹⁰ William Kenneth Boyd, *The Story of Durham: City of the New South* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1925), 277.

neighborhood, worked for the railroad. There were numerous African American owned and operated boarding houses in Raleigh as well as domestic workers and servants working in the city's hotels (such as the occupants of apartments in The Fincher apartment house discussed in Chapter 6).

Raleigh also housed African American professional women who worked at the state's premiere educational institutions for blacks, St. Augustine's and Shaw.¹¹ Both institutions actively worked to recruit African American educators and staff because, as historian David Brown has written, southern whites in Raleigh discouraged northern, white missionary efforts to send teachers South and black teachers were preferred by students over white ones who "were not sufficiently qualified to teach in the white schools."¹² In fact, the origins of the local, oral history phrase "culture town" has associations with the faculty and students of these African American educational institutions in Raleigh. Raleigh resident Clarence A. Toole said in an interview in the early 1990s that,

¹¹ Across the state of North Carolina suburban neighborhoods for middle-class African Americans were frequently associated with historically black colleges. In Greensboro, middle-class African American neighborhoods grew up around both Bennett College and the Agricultural and Mechanical College (what is today North Carolina A & T University). Today's Johnson C. Smith University in Charlotte was once the Biddle Institute, while Winston-Salem State University was once known as the Slater Institute when it developed alongside the Columbia Heights neighborhood. Charlotte's Washington Heights neighborhood may have been the first streetcar suburb to be developed by African American entrepreneurs in North Carolina. See Margaret Supplee Smith, "The American Idyll in North Carolina's First Suburbs: Landscape and Architecture" in *Early Twentieth century Suburbs in North Carolina: Essays on History, Architecture, and Planning Raleigh-Durham-Greensboro-Winston-Salem-Charlotte*, ed. Catherine W. Bisher and Lawrence S. Earley (Raleigh, NC: Archaeology and Historic Preservation Section, Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1985), 26-27.

¹² David Brown, "Saint Augustine's College," in Linda L. Harris et al., *Early Raleigh Neighborhoods and Buildings* (Raleigh, North Carolina: The Raleigh City Planning Department, the Raleigh Historic Properties Commission, The Raleigh Historic Districts Commission, 1983), 26.

Well, we used to call Raleigh “Culture Town.” People moved or would come to Raleigh just to be near the institutions. Saint Aug. and Shaw were the centers of black culture. I mean, back then, years ago, you could tell the difference between college students and the outsiders, even in the streets. You could tell the difference between them...the way they dressed, the way they talked, and the way they acted. They acted like cultured people and they kind of stood out.¹³

Interviewees, such as Toole, indicated that the initial homesteaders and later residents in Raleigh’s early African American neighborhoods and suburbs worked, in fact, in diverse occupations including as farmers, railroad workers, teachers, ministers, barbers, seamstresses, contractors, bricklayers, carpenters, draymen, domestics, cooks, washerwomen, blacksmiths, clergy, storeowners, and laborers.¹⁴

Much work on the history of African American neighborhood and suburban development in early twentieth century Raleigh remains. To date, the largest source we have is a survey by the Raleigh Historic Districts Commission (conducted between 1987 and 1992) which documented fifty-six oral history interviews and gathered information on eight distinct African American neighborhoods including College Park, East Raleigh-South Park, Fourth Ward, Idlewild, Method, Nazareth, Oberlin, and Smokey Hollow.¹⁵ The survey

¹³ Linda Simmons-Henry and Linda Harris Edmisten, *Culture Town: Raleigh’s African America Communities* (Raleigh, NC: Raleigh Historic Districts Commission, Inc., 1993), Introduction, ix.

¹⁴ Simmons-Henry and Edmisten, *Culture Town*, Introduction, xi.

¹⁵ Both the Oberlin and Method neighborhoods were Reconstruction-era villages of freedmen and women that developed on the outskirts of Raleigh. These were important sites for

documented over thirteen hundred buildings and helped to provide documentation placing East Raleigh-South Park onto the National Register of Historic Places.¹⁶

In the late nineteenth century, between the 1880 and 1900, Raleigh's African American neighborhoods in the southeast and southwest sections of the city expanded. The educational institutions including Shaw University, Saint Augustine's College, and the Deaf and Dumb Asylum for Negroes attracted faculty and staff, as well as families seeking a better life for their children who might attend these schools. Consequently, the neighborhoods surrounding these places filled up with new residents associated with the schools and also with laborers and skilled workers seeking employment and shelter. While many middle-class residents in these neighborhoods built Folk Victorian or Queen Anne-style houses such as their white suburban neighbors, African American

African Americans to exercise their immediate post-emancipation rights to own property, to move about freely, and to gain an education. Private houses, churches, and African American building and loan associations developed in these neighborhoods in the late nineteenth century. Both Oberlin and Method have largely been absorbed by surrounding West Raleigh suburban development and the neighborhoods today reflect more racial and ethnic diversity than at their founding. See Linda L. Harris, Mary Ann Lee, and Luis F. Sierra, *An Architectural and Historical Inventory of Raleigh, North Carolina* (Raleigh, NC: City of Raleigh Planning Department, Raleigh Historic Properties Commission, and the North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1978), 178.

¹⁶ More information is available about Raleigh architectural history on the Raleigh City Museum website. See Raleigh City Museum, "Raleigh Museum Resources," <http://www.raleighcitymuseum.org/built%20heritage.shtml> (accessed April 4, 2009).

neighborhoods also saw the introduction of such varied architecture as Triple-A's and shotgun houses, as well as the cottage version of the Queen Anne.¹⁷

Secondary literature on African American suburbanization before World War II is scant and much of it is focused on northern communities which were created out of the Great Migration in the 1910s and 1920s when masses of blacks moved northward.¹⁸ Historian Andrew Wiese has found that in the northern United States, in the pre-World War II period, that suburban life was just as important and popular for working-class blacks as it was for middle-class whites.¹⁹ The presence of working-class blacks and whites in various suburban neighborhoods in Raleigh suggests that pattern was also present in North Carolina. The work of Wiese and the work behind this dissertation directly challenge the argument made by Kenneth Jackson, in his seminal work in suburban history, *Crabgrass Frontier*, that, "Affluent and middle-class Americans live in suburban areas that are far from their work place, in homes that they own,

¹⁷ Helen Patricia Ross, "*Raleigh Comprehensive Architectural Survey*," (Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1992), <http://www.trianglemodernisthouses.com/documents.htm> (accessed December 31, 2011), 6.

¹⁸ According to historian Andrew Wiese, "more than a million African Americans [moved] out of the South in the 1910s and 1920s. The great majority of these migrants settled in central cities, but suburbs accounted for approximately 15 percent of black population growth in metropolitan areas outside the South between 1910 and 1940, or about 285,000 people. By 1940, approximately 500,000 African Americans lived in suburbs north of the Mason-Dixon Line, a number that represented almost one-fifth (19 percent) of the African Americans in metropolitan areas of the North and West." See Andrew Wiese, "The Other Suburbanites: African American Suburbanization in the North Before 1950," in *"We Shall Independent Be": African American Place Making and the Struggle to Claim Space in the United States*, eds. Angel David Nieves and Leslie M. Alexander (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2008), 224.

¹⁹ Wiese, "The Other Suburbanites," 225.

and in the center of yards that by urban standards elsewhere are enormous.”²⁰

Suburbs in the southern United States contained both working-class and middle-class Americans. Many people in the suburbs rented and did not own their home. There were communities of African American and white residents. And, in the case of Raleigh in the 1920s, the streetcar route made the commute between work and home quite short. Wiese also found that while during the 1910s and 1920s, one in six blacks moved to a northern suburb, at the same time “in the South, black residence on the urban fringe was even more widespread; in fact, it was characteristic of the region before World War II.”²¹ This was certainly the case in Raleigh, where African Americans established communities such as Oberlin, Method, and Lincolnville well outside of the traditional city limits in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

African American residential expansion also occurred in the south and east sections of Raleigh in neighborhoods like South Park, which was bordered by Bledsoe, Wilmington, Hoke, and East streets. Much like the white suburban neighborhoods of Boylan Heights, Cameron Park, and Glenwood-Brooklyn, South Park was a planned suburban development. It was platted in 1907 by the Raleigh Real Estate and Trust Company. That company worked primarily on real estate projects for middle-class whites and was a white-owned business. Two

²⁰ Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 6.

²¹ Andrew Wiese, *Places of Their Own: African American Suburbanization in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 5.

additional African American suburban neighborhoods, Battery Heights and College Park, were platted in the early 1910s in the north and east sections of Raleigh. They were marketed towards skilled workers and those African Americans aspiring to rising middle-class-status. The domestic architecture of these neighborhoods consists primarily of Triple A's and shotgun houses with a variety of decorative elements.²²

Project Design and Sources

This dissertation evaluates the distinctive spatial patterns and architectural changes that impacted Raleigh, North Carolina, in the 1920s and the key role that the introduction of the apartment form in both apartment houses and converted single-family homes played in those processes. The main research problems for this project are to determine how the apartment form became an acceptable housing solution for middle-class residents of Raleigh and how both apartment house builders and private homeowners rejected the “suburban ideal” of a “residence city” based on single-family homes and nuclear families. This project tracks changes in Raleigh during the period between World War I and the Great Depression by identifying and analyzing evidence which suggests that

²² Ross, “*Raleigh Comprehensive Architectural Survey*,” 10. According to Simmons-Henry and Edmisten, “The Triple A house, a very popular late nineteenth-century vernacular house style often found in Raleigh’s historic African American communities, is a traditional hall and parlor house with an intersecting decorative center gable in the roof line over the front door. Often the front porch of the Triple A is decorated with fancy millwork in the form of scrolls or spindles, and almost all examples feature decorative attic vents in the gable ends...Shotgun houses are essentially hall and parlor houses with the gable end turned toward the street to create a front-gabled, one-room-wide house with the rooms and interior doors aligned.” See Simmons-Henry and Edmisten, *Culture Town*.

apartment house realtor-developers and private homeowners played a major role in transforming Raleigh from a town to a city. To do this, I have employed a variety of primary sources to make an original argument about multi-family housing choices in 1920s Raleigh.

The most important sources I used were classified advertisements from the *News and Observer* newspaper, city directory data for Raleigh, and modern-day fieldwork photographs of extant properties. Additionally, I used multiple examples of “booster literature” in the form of city guidebooks, suburban promotional materials, newspaper editorials, census records, digitized municipal data on individual houses in Raleigh, historic maps, *National Register of Historic Places Inventories and Nomination* forms, and historic drawings and photographs of houses, their floor plans, and apartment floor plans for help with architectural analysis.

The timeframe for the project, 1918-1929, marks two shifts in the history of Raleigh. The 1917-1918 city directory is the first year that apartment houses are listed in the city and The Capital Apartments, Raleigh’s first true apartment house, was constructed and opened in 1917. Raleigh in 1918 was also, like the nation, coping with the radical changes that American participation in World War I had wrought on the home front. The population and the real estate market were in flux as Raleigh, like the nation, embarked on a building boom throughout the

decade of the 1920s.²³ The choice to end the project study in 1929 was based on the architectural history of the city. For, Raleigh, like much of the greater United States, 1929's stock market crash, and the devastating economic depression that followed, marked the end of a nation-wide building surge. Additionally, architectural scholars have noted the shift from the 1920s to 1930s as an important period of change in which we can see, as evidenced by building design, materials, and the growth of professional architects, a modernized America. Indeed, as the writers of a comprehensive 1978 survey of the city have written,

The examples of this period are unique as they represent styles and methods of building that are no longer used...the...life-style and philosophies in the United States have changed so drastically since 1929 that the architecture and neighborhoods still existing from this period should be recognized as representatives of a period far different from the present²⁴

After some quality time in the State Archives of North Carolina and the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill to assess source availability, I began the project by reading newspapers to construct a database where I could track the classified advertisements from the *News and Observer* newspaper. I chose the *News and Observer* because it was Raleigh's major, mainstream newspaper. That means it had the largest

²³ See Chapter 4: "A Residence City: Spatial Patterns in a Modernizing Raleigh" in this dissertation for a fuller discussion of Raleigh's construction and housing boom in the 1920s.

²⁴ Harris et al., *Architectural and Historical Inventory*, 11.

circulation in the city (and county) compared to smaller papers like *The Raleigh Times* and it was not a paper that was targeted towards one particular population, such as an African American newspaper like Raleigh's *The Carolinian*.²⁵ To make the project more manageable, I chose to obtain a wide sample by examining selected days and months of the classified section. After examining several examples of the paper it was clear that the largest (and therefore most informational) classified section of the *News and Observer* was published on Sundays so I restricted my sample to Sundays only. I staggered the sample by selecting every other month of the year (for a total of six months per year) and looking at the Sunday classifieds for only those months.

I began the study in January 1919 because I wanted to get a sense of the real estate market in Raleigh prior to the 1920s era of apartment house building. For the subsequent years of the sample, I staggered my month selection in order to get a sense of seasonal changes. So, for 1922 I started in February and then looked at every other month, in 1926 I started in January and looked at every other month, in 1929 I started in February again and looked at every other month. I selected those years so I could see how the classifieds changed over the course of the decade. I tracked all of my data into a searchable database in *Microsoft Access* and then also into a *Microsoft Excel* spreadsheet. At the early

²⁵ In 1926, the *News and Observer* published circulation statistics for the daily and Sunday newspapers. The total net paid circulation daily was 34,591 papers while the total Sunday net circulation was 36,807. See Classifieds, *News and Observer*, May 1, 1926. *The Carolinian* did not begin publication in Raleigh until the 1940s. There are no extant African American newspapers for Raleigh during the period of this study.

stages of the project, I was not sure exactly what kind of data would be applicable to my project thesis so I essentially tracked every piece of information contained within individual advertisements, whether or not it made it into the final body of work. I tracked the date of the advertisement, the property address (if listed), any “modern conveniences” listed, whether the ad specified that the rental space was for men or women, whether the ad specified if children were or were not allowed in the property, the rental company name and/or owner, the number of rooms listed, the neighborhood location (or desirability of location), the rental price, whether the property was furnished or not, what kinds of furniture were listed, whether meals were provided at the property, if there was a reference required, what kind of tenant they were looking for (such as “business girl,” “gentleman,” “young married couple,” etc.), and finally, I typed out each advertisement so I could refer back to language, wording, etc. The database ultimately tracked a total of 2,196, records which made up the sample.

From the database records I was able to construct both tables and maps of Raleigh, which display the data. I built tables tracking things such as boarding houses, water features (bath, lavatory, kitchenette, etc.), porches, Murphy beds, electricity, telephone use, etc. Using information from the classifieds database, I commissioned a Geographic Information Systems (GIS) professional to use map-building software to plot my data onto maps of Raleigh. The maps were drawn by Rob Grabarek, Certificate in GIS, and were created using a program called *ESRI ArcGIS 10.0*. The maps were created between May 2011 and August

2012. There are a total of ten original maps in this project. They were created based on data from this dissertation and online information from municipal government databases.

For all of the (GIS) data a combination of the City of Raleigh's online database and the County of Wake's online database were both used. Data on the annexations and street borders was gathered from Linda L. Harris, Mary Ann Lee, and Luis F. Sierra's *An Architectural and Historical Inventory of Raleigh, North Carolina*. Data to construct the streetcar route was gathered from Walter R. Turner, "Development of Streetcar Systems in North Carolina," a Charlotte-Mecklenburg Historic Landmarks Commission document. The borders of the suburban neighborhoods are approximations based on two histories of Raleigh's neighborhoods and suburbs, Catherine W. Bisher and Lawrence S. Earley's edited volume, *Early Twentieth century Suburbs in North Carolina: Essays on History, Architecture, and Planning*, and Linda L. Harris (et al), *Early Raleigh Neighborhoods and Buildings*. The boundaries of Raleigh's "business district" (as enclosed by Morgan, Blount, Cabarrus, and McDowell Streets) come from Elizabeth Culbertson Waugh's history entitled *North Carolina's Capital, Raleigh*. The original map series examines the distribution of boarding houses, apartment houses, and single-family houses throughout Raleigh. I also used pricing information from real estate companies and private homeowners found in the classifieds to determine how properties were distributed in Raleigh based on rental rates.

Map A: Raleigh Suburban Neighborhood Locations was created primarily using street location information from various historical organizations such as the National Park Service and local historical societies.²⁶ *Map B: Raleigh City Limit and Downtown* were put together using the source from the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources entitled, *An Architectural and Historical Inventory of Raleigh, North Carolina*. *Map C: Boarding House Locations City of Raleigh*, *Map D: African-American Boarding Houses, 1918-1929 City of Raleigh*, *Map E: Raleigh Apartment Houses By Address*, and *Map J: Raleigh Apartment Houses Year Built*, and were all created using data gathered from the Raleigh City Directories, volumes 1918 through 1929.²⁷ *Map F: Raleigh Apartment Price List By Private Home Owners*, *Map G: Hornaday and Faucette Price List for 1926 City of Raleigh*, and *Map H: Thompson and Yarborough Price List for 1929 City of Raleigh* were all created based on rental price data gathered from the database tracking the Sunday classified advertisements from the Raleigh News and Observer newspaper for the years 1919, 1922, 1926, and 1929.²⁸ For *Map I:*

²⁶ See "Historic Homes in Boylan Heights," Historic Boylan Heights, http://www.boylanheights.org/History/historic_home_descriptions.html (accessed May 1, 2010) for a list of streets contained within the suburb. See the Society for the Preservation of Historic Oakwood, "Historic Oakwood Boundary Map," <http://www.historicoakwood.org/map.php> (accessed May 1, 2010) for a map of the Oakwood neighborhood. See also the National Park Service, "Raleigh A Capital City: A National Register of Historic Places Travel Itinerary," <http://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/raleigh/fiv.htm> and <http://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/raleigh/FlatmapRaleigh1.htm> (accessed May 1, 2010) for maps of Raleigh's Five Points neighborhoods and histories of various suburban neighborhoods in Raleigh.

²⁷ *Hill's Raleigh City Directory: A Buyers' Guide and A Complete Classified Business Directory*, (Richmond, VA: Hill Directory Company, Inc., 1918-1929).

²⁸ See discussion of "Project Design and Sources" earlier in this chapter for a description of the classifieds database.

Fieldwork Houses By Suburban Neighborhood I used addresses obtained from the newspaper classifieds in order to plot each fieldwork photograph house onto the map within each suburban neighborhood used in the study.

The overwhelming majority of the houses came from the Oakwood, Boylan Heights, and Glenwood-Brooklyn neighborhoods. Additional map information came from the *Raleigh Architectural Inventories* of 1978 and 1992 and, especially in regards to the African American suburbs of Raleigh, both the oral history project *Culture Town: Raleigh's African American Communities* and the study of Raleigh entitled *The Urban Negro in the South* were key sources in reconstructing the boundaries of those settlements.²⁹ The borders of the suburban neighborhoods could also be fluid as sometimes a homeowner might mention a particular address in a suburban neighborhood, say Oakwood, but then that house falls outside of the “official” borders of the suburb (as identified on documents such as *National Register of Historic Places Inventories and Nomination* forms, for example).

The classified newspaper database has limitations. One of the most frustrating aspects was the lack of information provided in many, many advertisements. Oftentimes, basic information such as a street address would be missing from the text. It was not unusual to find advertisement after advertisement that would read something like, “Apartment for rent. Modern

²⁹ See Harris et al., *Architectural and Historical Inventory*, 14-15. See Simmons-Henry and Edmisten, *Culture Town*. See also Wilmoth A. Carter, *The Urban Negro in the South* (New York: Vantage Press, 1961).

Conveniences” with a phone number sometimes listed. These types of advertisements offered no specific information in helping to define apartment life in Raleigh or in helping to track data by an address or homeowner, for example. The limited information in a particular ad made it very difficult to track individual properties over time. For example, an advertisement for an apartment in a single-family house in Glenwood advertised over the course of three or four months in a particular year of the study may or may not have been the same, specific address. Additionally, the classified advertisements were almost exclusively placed by private homeowners or their agents. Apartment houses, such as The Capital, The Wilmont, The Gilford, etc. almost never used the classifieds to advertise their properties. For the apartment house story, told in Chapter 5, I had to rely on the written record in city directories and modern day fieldwork.

The best way to think about a city directory is that it is a source very much like a phonebook. It contains much of the same information one might find in the United States Census records but in a much easier-to-use format. In the case of Raleigh in the 1920s, it would have been a source that might list a phone number, as that technology was being introduced across the region at that time. However, it more often listed just names and street addresses. There is a business and a personal section for each city directory and the volumes are divided by year, sometimes two years. For example, in this dissertation I used the *Hill's City Directories* for Raleigh including the years 1917-1918, 1918-1919, 1920-1921, 1922-1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, and 1929. In the

business section of the directory are alphabetical lists of all kinds of businesses such as Attorneys, Bookbinders, Garages, etc. The name, address, and sometimes phone number of the business is listed. In the personal section of the city directory each resident is listed alphabetically and one can find their occupation, race, gender, and spouse listed beside them. Or if one has a street address, the person can be looked up by an alphabetical listing of all of the streets in a particular city. City directories also listed important city information such as lists of libraries, post offices, fire stations, civic associations, and secret societies as well.³⁰

The city directories helped me gather information on the apartment houses of Raleigh since they were not mentioned in detail in the newspaper classifieds. Under Raleigh businesses the directory listed “Apartment Houses” beginning in 1917 when Raleigh’s first apartment house, The Capital Apartments, was built. By 1926, the city directory changed the name from “Apartment House” to “Apartment Building.” From the directories, I gathered the names of every Raleigh apartment house for each year from 1918-1929 and the street address of each building. Next, I looked up each street address of all of the apartment houses in 1918-1919, 1925, and 1929 so I could get a sample of the type of residents who occupied these apartments. The directories allowed me to construct a table where I tracked the name, address, gender, race, occupation,

³⁰ Digitized versions of some of Raleigh’s city directories are available at NC Live, “Open Library,” http://openlibrary.org/books/OL14011370M/Hill_Directory_Co.%27s_%28Incorporated%29_Raleigh_N.C._city_directory (accessed March 23, 2009).

and marital status of all of the apartment house residents in Raleigh for the sample years. That table can be found in Appendix B. In this way I was able to use the city directories to tell me information that was missing from the classifieds such as the street address of a particular apartment house and biographical data on the occupant of individual apartments. Additionally, I used the city directories to find the same biographical data on the residents of single-family homes in the years 1922, 1926, and 1929. I took the street addresses of single-family homes in the classifieds and tracked down information about the occupants of those addresses by cross-referencing the address with the city directory. The table that I constructed from that data is found in Appendix A and is discussed, in detail, in Chapter 4.

Newspaper apartment advertisements are an important source in this project because they demonstrate the techniques used by landlords, real estate companies, and homeowners to try to entice people to rent. They suggest the characteristics of the ideal resident as well as illuminate the types of technology and amenities which made a particular apartment marketable and the advantages and disadvantages to where a particular property was located within the larger scope of the city. As historian Harold L. Platt has argued about Houston, Texas, “gradually...more and more city dwellers came to regard modern amenities as individual as well as collective necessities of urban life.”³¹ Technologies, including the revolutionary electrical inventions of the telephone,

³¹ Platt, *City Building in the New South*, Preface, xvii.

light bulb, and rapid transit, although in high demand by urban dwellers were by no means evenly distributed. Platt argues that,

In the New South, unfortunately, the national search for greater efficiency in the administration of governmental services was often perverted into a politics of exclusion. To be sure, municipal reformers elsewhere pursued similar discriminatory goals in the distribution of both public services and political power. But success in achieving these anti-democratic ends by the manipulation of structural reform was restricted largely to the South...Southern urban centers graphically reflected the resulting exclusionary plans of city building. Two segregated communities—one modern and one unimproved—grew up alongside of one another.³²

The need for landlords and home owners to single out these housing features suggests that they were not a standard part of southern life, but instead were new and modern. What was standard, however, was the deliberate exclusion of African American and poor white neighborhoods from these city improvements because of their exclusion as a voting constituency.

Not only were these technologies portrayed as luxurious amenities to those interested in renting, but they were frequently listed as “modern conveniences.” Even if a particular advertisement did not specify the types of plumbing, appliances, or other features to be expected in a particular apartment, the terminology “modern conveniences” demonstrates that landlords saw the modernity of apartment living as a selling point for attracting renters and migrants into Raleigh. Modern life was also about anonymity. The luxury of a “private bath,” “private entrances,” “private living room,” “private sitting room,” “semi-

³² Ibid., 210-211.

private bath,” “outside entrance,” or “private porch” suggested the importance of controlling points of access between various tenants and homeowners. The emphasis on privacy, the system of required personal references for potential tenants (as specified in the classifieds), and neighborhoods designated by race and class meant that, as historian Gwendolyn Wright has so eloquently written, “in suburbs and in cooperative apartments, community has meant the exclusion of those who are not like ourselves.”³³ Rental advertisers emphasized their “separate conveniences” as a strong selling point for their individual properties in the hopes of attracting those desiring a modern way of life in town. Renters could enter properties via a “private entrance” or enjoy the outdoors on a “private porch.” The ideal resident, then, was perhaps the one who made as little contact with homeowners as possible and lived separate lives in anonymous apartments created out of previously single-family homes. The ideal resident was someone who looked as if they “belonged” in a particular neighborhood—someone who was white and who could appear middle-class.

The language of the classified advertisement helped me to decide which rental properties were intended for business and which were intended for residential use. Additionally, the wording of an advertisement could tell me if a property consisted of an entire house, like in this one, for example, “WANTED AT ONCE- 5 ROOM HOUSE with water and lights. Address or phone J.W. Alford,

³³ Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), Introduction, xvii.

Yarborough Hotel,”³⁴ or if a property advertised was intended to be an apartment space, such as in this example, "FOR RENT-TWO ROOMS AND KIT-chenette, furnished: location, South Boylan Ave. Call phone 1911.”³⁵ However, it is the modern day fieldwork photographs which establish what kind of building sits on a particular lot in Raleigh—a single-family house or an apartment house.

In both Chapters 4 and 5 fieldwork photographs are incredibly important sources. I began the process by making a table with all of the street addresses listed in the classified advertisement database I had built from the *News and Observer*. Next, I took several weeks (and numerous reshoots over the course of two years) to walk around downtown Raleigh and her immediate suburbs to determine which properties were extant. As I documented which houses remained, I also photographed each property for the architectural analysis in both chapters. I found fifty-four extant houses to photograph in Raleigh based on classified addresses. Additionally, I compiled a list of all of the names and street addresses for all of Raleigh’s apartment houses, as catalogued in the city directories, and out of the thirty-two buildings from the 1920s, I was able to locate fourteen extant apartment houses and photograph them as well.

For the single-family homes, I used the photographs to analyze how the architecture helped to preserve the privacy of the homeowner while allowing renters access to the middle-class status of having an address in an exclusive

³⁴ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, March 30, 1919.

³⁵ Classifieds, *News and Observer* May 11, 1919.

suburb. The photographs revealed private porches, private entrances, underground garages, and stylistic elements, which helped identify the single-family house as either a late nineteenth century/early twentieth century Victorian-style home or a newer, twentieth century home in a Folk Victorian, Colonial Revival, or Craftsman style, to name a few examples. Using visual evidence is tremendously difficult because there is oftentimes no way of knowing how a property has specifically changed over time. For example, the destruction of outbuildings on lots or the addition of new parts of the house which obscure former entrances or windows make analysis of the exterior of a single-family home a huge challenge. At times, it is difficult to tell the provenance of a particular exterior feature such as a door, a mailbox, or the metal street numbers attached to the front of a house. Perhaps those features are from the period under study and were there in the 1920s, or perhaps they were bought in the 1960s at a flea market and were installed outside of the time period. That is why the addition of documentary evidence is key when using material culture evidence at the same time. In this project, I relied heavily on both city directories and *National Register of Historic Places Inventories and Nomination* forms for Oakwood, Boylan Heights, and Glenwood-Brooklyn to help analyze the single-family houses even further. Those documents help to show the subdivision of the single-family house into apartment space because they oftentimes list house owners for each year. When those ownership lists are compared to both the classified advertisements for a particular address and the city directory lists, it

becomes clear that additional tenants lived alongside owners in single-family houses.

For the apartment houses, the photographs played a key role in helping to identify different building types based on the context of location. This dissertation documents the architectural variety of apartment houses built in downtown and their use of historicist architectural styles to attract renters, such as The Capital and The Vance Apartments.³⁶ It also documents apartment houses in suburban neighborhoods, like The Gilford, The York, and The Johnson, whose exterior features mimic that of a single-family house in order to blend in with the surrounding neighborhood. The application of that historicist architecture on a suburban apartment house (the refinement of the “suburban ideal”) by realtor-developers in the case of The Wilmont Apartments and the new business model employed by Edward Fincher, the developer, builder, and owner of The Fincher, Raleigh’s only African American apartment house, is also discussed using fieldwork photographs.

³⁶ Historicism refers to artistic styles that draw their inspiration from copying historic styles or artisans. Historicist architecture is when the builder and/or architect use architectural features from historical designs in present-day building. For example, the features of colonial architecture that one sees in a colonial home such as George Washington’s Mount Vernon became newly popular during the building period of the late 19th century. The centennial of the founding of the United States inspired many home builders to go back to the colonial period and apply that architecture to newly built homes at the time in a style that has become known as Colonial Revival. The Capital Apartments in Raleigh have been classified by North Carolina architectural historians Catherine Bisher and Michael T. Southern as “Renaissance Revival” because certain features of the building borrow from a Renaissance aesthetic including the building’s symmetry and wide brackets under the roof. See Catherine W. Bisher and Michael T. Southern, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Piedmont North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 111.

The fieldwork photographs only tell a part of the story of multi-family housing options in Raleigh. The existence of fifty-four extant houses in Raleigh's historic neighborhoods is not enough to suggest a widespread pattern of the subdivision of single-family houses by owners to incorporate rental spaces into their homes. But, when those photographs are combined with a statistical analysis of the classified advertisement database, from the *News and Observer* newspaper, it becomes easier to see that this transformation was taking place across the city and suburbs in the 1920s. For the database, I analyzed a total of 2,196 advertisements for housing in Raleigh. This included advertisements for apartments, boarding houses, house rentals, and business property rentals. Out of the over 2,000 records, 515 advertised apartment rentals mentioned a specific street address, suburban neighborhood, or location marker (such as "State College," "Wiley School," "Murphy School," "Capitol," "Train Station," or "Post Office"). The specific street addresses for these properties do not correspond to the location of Raleigh's apartment houses, cataloged in the city directories. Also, the language of these advertisements do not mention a real estate agent or rental company (as other ads do) suggesting that they were placed by private homeowners. This means that about a fourth of the advertisements in the sample show evidence of apartment space located within a single-family home. Additionally, the database contains 459 advertisements which explicitly or implicitly refer to an apartment space without a specific street address. In this project sample of 2,196 advertisements almost half, 974 advertisements, provide

evidence far beyond the smaller pool of fieldwork photographs, that single-family houses were used as multi-family living spaces. When evidence from the fieldwork photographs, classifieds database, city directories are combined, the rejection of the “residence city” by a significant amount of homeowners in Raleigh is visible.

Chapter Summaries

This dissertation consists of seven chapters (including both an introductory chapter at the beginning and a concluding chapter at the end), which discuss the modernization of Raleigh via the introduction of new multi-family housing options for the middle-class, a bibliography, and two appendices. This introduction, Chapter 1, includes the dissertation thesis, the major sources for the project (and their limitations), the project design, and the relevant historical context for the work. Appendix A is a list of resident tables, which track the residents of single-family homes (as described in the city directories) that advertised apartment space for rent in the newspaper classifieds. The group of tables uses the city directories from 1922, 1926, and 1929 and identifies the name, race, gender, occupation, marital status and home address of individuals living in particular homes advertised in the *News and Observer* classifieds.³⁷ Appendix B is a list of resident tables for people living in Raleigh’s apartment houses from the 1918-1919, 1925, and 1929 city directories. These tables also

³⁷ *Raleigh City Directory*, 1922, 1926, 1929.

identify the name, race, gender, occupation, marital status and home address of all individuals living in specific apartment houses (listed by apartment house name and street location) in Raleigh.³⁸

The second chapter of this dissertation, entitled “‘A Town That Waked Up and Became a City’: Traditional and Modern Multi-Family Housing Options in Raleigh,” sets up the historical context of Raleigh’s housing options in the 1920s. It contrasts the traditional multi-family housing forms such as the boarding house and apartment hotel (also known as the residential hotel) with newer, modern, multi-family living spaces such as rental spaces in single-family houses and apartments in apartment houses. It uses historian Thomas Hanchett’s methodological model to discuss how Raleigh was “sorted” into neighborhoods by factors of income and race and how that was a new housing pattern that was part of the modernization of the city. It also makes use of Wilmoth Carter’s oral history of African American neighborhoods to discuss the complexities of the “sorting” process in Raleigh. The thesis of Chapter 2 is that Raleigh transitioned from a provincial town into a modern, southern city in the 1920s as traditional multi-family housing options, such as the boarding house and apartment hotel, gave way to new choices including rental space within converted single-family houses and apartment units in apartment houses. The appeal of these new housing choices lay in the fact that they were located in neighborhoods sorted for

³⁸ *Raleigh City Directory*, 1918-1919, 1925, 1929.

income and race and in the new technologies and amenities available to residents.

The third chapter, entitled “‘Let No One Be A Stranger But Once’: the ‘Suburban Ideal’ versus the Suburban Reality, Biographical Data on Raleigh’s Apartment Residents,” argues that the “suburban ideal” of single-family homes in the suburbs conflicts with the reality of both how single-family houses were used as multi-family living spaces and with the demographic data on renters in Raleigh. This chapter defines the historiographical concept of the “suburban ideal” using the model of Mary Corbin Sies. It looks at the symbolic image of the suburbs as an enclave of white, middle-class, prosperity for individuals looking for a haven from urban life and then contrasts the symbol with the practical uses of suburban neighborhoods and homes. Using Sies’ original research results, in which she identified national patterns in which the components of the suburban ideal (single-family homes, nuclear families, one-income households based on male-earning potential) did not conform to the reality of how residents lived, I evaluate Raleigh. The presence of adult children in the household, the modern occupations of women in two-income households, and the incorporation of non-family members into the household as renters are all patterns identified by Sies and found also in Raleigh. Using city directory data, this chapter traces the biographical information of Raleigh residents who chose to rent space in single-family homes or in apartment houses in the city and suburbs. I also use case studies of Cameron Park, Glenwood-Brooklyn, and Boylan Heights to set up the

socio-economic profile of each of the major, planned, white, suburbs of the 1920s.

Women in 1920s Raleigh experienced new occupational opportunities, and southern women were crucial elements in the process of creating a “New South.” Historians of the post-emancipation and post-Reconstruction South, such as Glenda E. Gilmore, have already documented well the role of white, middle-class, southern women in the brutality and violence of racial incidents, such as the 1898 Wilmington Race Riot, as well as the resistance tactics of black, middle class, southern women to protect their communities against such attacks.³⁹ The vitality of middle-class, southern women to Progressive reform has also been explored.⁴⁰ Other scholars, such as Jacqueline D. Hall, have examined the lives of working-class factory girls, who built North Carolina’s textile and tobacco industries.⁴¹ What historians have failed to look at, however, are southern women who were neither firmly middle-class nor working-class.

Rural women who moved from the countryside to southern cities, like Raleigh, sought new “pink collar” or “lace collar” jobs in retail, government, and business. These women required education, only available in the city, from business colleges in the new, modern skills of typing, filing, and accounting.

³⁹ Glenda E. Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

⁴⁰ William A. Link, *The Paradox of Southern Progressivism, 1880-1930* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

⁴¹ Jacqueline Dowd Hall et al., *Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1987)

They moved to the city looking towards a future of employment, and possibly, though not always, broader marriage prospects. These rural women helped to modernize Raleigh through their migration, their living spaces, and their social behavior. They were new women of the 1920s on-the-make, coming into the city to make their own way as a means of escape from the oftentimes drudgery of farm or factory work. It is no coincidence that three major white women's colleges in Raleigh—Saint Mary's, Meredith, and Peace—which targeted young, white, college-age, single women for educational opportunities, thrived and greatly expanded their student bodies and curricula during this time. This dissertation contributes to New South studies because of its investigation of Raleigh as a southern city that reconstructed itself in a manner quite distinct from the stereotypical industrial-manufacturing centers which so dominates the secondary literature.

As seen in the evidence presented in Chapter 3, new “business girls” or professional women workers were employed as stenographers, typists, secretaries, clerks, telephone operators, and teachers. These women often attended schools like King's Business College to learn modern office skills. These were new jobs tied to new technologies. Some women in Raleigh even worked as lab assistants to physicians or professors at State College. Historian Sharon Harman Strom found, in her study of female office workers in Los Angeles, that these stenographers and typists were both taking advantage of new economic opportunities while at the same time they were “just another

version of exploited female labor” as “a pivotal ambiguity structured the self-identity of women who entered office work in the three decades before the Great Depression.”⁴² The new demands of government management, dispensing public utilities, distributing retail goods and services, the exchange of money, and the property and life insurance businesses required ever more workers. When “faced with a shortage of educated male clerks willing to be paid low wages, managers turned to women.”⁴³ Strom found a direct correlation between the increased numbers of female office workers in her study and the decrease in clerical salaries.⁴⁴ Although Strom found a system where women could be fired upon marriage or barred from promotion on the assumption that they might leave and start a family, primary source data in Raleigh (discussed in Chapter 3) shows that many women worked alongside their husbands in office jobs and many stayed during the course of the decade in the same position.

Other women, both black and white, found more economic freedom through independently operating a boarding house and circumnavigating office work. Glen Stuart Perkins found in his research on boarding houses in Wilmington, North Carolina, that female boarding house operators “developed a new professional identity in which domestic and business management

⁴² Sharon Hartman Strom, *Beyond the Typewriter: Gender, Class, and the Origins of Modern American Office Work, 1900-1930* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 2.

⁴³ Strom, *Beyond the Typewriter*, 4.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

overlapped.”⁴⁵ These women “combined the ‘feminine’ sphere of domestic management with the ‘masculine’ sphere of business management” and adapted to the fluctuating economic circumstances in Wilmington.⁴⁶ For example, in Wilmington a boarding house could simultaneously function as housing, a saloon, and a brothel. In Raleigh, the red light district was restricted to a quarter known as “Vinegar Hill” in the late nineteenth century and not in the boarding house section of town, nonetheless, as with Wilmington, boarding houses usually consisted of buildings adapted for use and not built explicitly to “accommodate strangers.”⁴⁷

Historian Angela Robbins found that boarding house operators both gained economic ground with their work while also contributing to conventional notions about a woman’s proper place in society. Robbins has written that the “concentration in white and ‘female’ occupations ensured that white women’s labor reinscribed race and gender hierarchies even as they simultaneously gained greater economic independence and challenged conventional notions of their roles.”⁴⁸ Robbins found that boarding house operation was on the rise in

⁴⁵ Glen Stuart Perkins, “Accommodating Strangers: Mid-Nineteenth-Century Wilmington, N.C. Boardinghouses” (Masters Thesis, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 2004), abstract.

⁴⁶ Perkins, “Accommodating Strangers,” 3.

⁴⁷ K. Todd Johnson and Elizabeth Reid Murray, *Wake: Capital County of North Carolina, Volume II: Reconstruction to 1920* (Raleigh, NC: Wake County, 2008), 64.

⁴⁸ Angela P. Robbins, “Bridging the Old South and the New: Women in the Economic Transformation of the North Carolina Piedmont, 1865-1920” (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 2010), abstract.

North Carolina from the period between the end of the Civil War and the early twentieth century, thus providing an important economic opportunity for women. Just as females in Nashville, Tennessee (in Louis Kyriakouides' study of the city) adapted to the influx of single women in office jobs and retail looking for urban housing, boarding house operators in North Carolina adapted to this new group as well.⁴⁹ African American boarding house operators were able to capitalize on the patterns of segregation in housing in North Carolina and by 1920 held an 18 percent share of the state's boarding house market.⁵⁰ Boarding house operators adapted their businesses to suit the needs of residents whether that meant new urban populations like "business girls" or African American visitors chased out of neighborhoods because of the color of their skin.

In his work, *The Social Origins of the Urban South*, historian Louis M. Kyriakouides, has presented evidence that suggests that certain types of New South cities experienced gender and race-specific patterns of urban migration. Although his research on Nashville, Tennessee does not focus exclusively on women, Kyriakouides provides a methodological model which can also be applied to Raleigh, itself an understudied southern city. Kyriakouides found that Nashville's unique development as a city with a service-based, rather than manufacturing-based economy, led to distinctive demographic patterns in which

⁴⁹ Louis M. Kyriakouides, *The Social Origins of the Urban South: Race, Gender, and Migration in Nashville and Middle Tennessee, 1890-1930* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

⁵⁰ Robbins, "Bridging the Old South and the New," 207.

more women than men, both black and white, migrated to Nashville in the period between 1890 and 1930.⁵¹ Kyriakoudes' research indicates that more women migrated to the city while male migrants from the Tennessee hinterlands fled north or to other cities in the state seeking manufacturing jobs. White women, however found positions in clerical and retail jobs that men of both races abhorred, while black women worked primarily in service jobs such as domestic labor or as laundresses.

Raleigh reflects a similar demographic trend as does Nashville regarding racial patterns of migration and serves as a test case for Kyriakoudes' model, which suggests that smaller, southern cities may have followed significantly different economic and social trajectories from larger industrialized places. Census records indicate that Raleigh saw a higher percentage of women migrate to the city in the 1920s and they were largely white.⁵² Kyriakoudes' work also found three urban institutions—church-sponsored boarding houses, employment

⁵¹ Census records compiled by Kyriakoudes indicate that in the period from 1920 to 1930 over 10,000 women migrated into Nashville from the surrounding countryside compared with just over 6,000 men. Additionally, the numbers show that more whites than blacks migrated to the city at this time as well (just over 4,000 blacks migrated compared to just over 12,000 whites, of both sexes came to Nashville in this period). The racial disparity makes sense given the overlap of this period with the African American Great Migration to northern urban settings. See Kyriakoudes, *Social Origins of the Urban South*, 102-103.

⁵² In 1920, there were 7,855 white women living in Raleigh compared to 4,364 African American women. There were 7,834 white men living in Raleigh compared to 4,180 African American men in that same year. By 1930, 12,650 white women lived in Raleigh while only 6,758 African American women called the city home. In 1930, there were 11,808 white men and only 5,817 African American men living there. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census, 1920*, Volume 3: Population 1920 Composition and Characteristics of the Population By States, Table 8 "Age, For Cities of 10,000 or More 1920," 734. See also U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census, 1930*, Volume 3: Population Part 2: Montana-Wyoming, Table 12 "Population By Age, Color, Nativity, and Sex For Cities and Towns of 10,000 or More 1930," 352.

agencies, and commercial training schools—were “central to the integration of female rural migrants into the urban social and economic order” of Nashville.⁵³

Business colleges and professional associations, like the Woman’s Club of Raleigh, served the same sort of functions. This dissertation evaluates the demographic, social, and economic implications associated with Raleigh’s service-based economy and builds on Kyriakoudes’ excellent work.

Chapter Four is entitled “‘A Residence City’: Spatial Patterns in a Modernizing Raleigh.” This chapter looks at how the “suburban ideal” concept played out on the local level in Raleigh. It establishes the concept of the “residence city” as a distinctive Raleigh ideal of modernity. This chapter focuses on modernizing Raleigh as the “residence” city and the ideal symbolic role of the suburbs. I use original maps based on dissertation data to illustrate trends in Raleigh’s housing patterns such as a college rental market, African American boarding house district, suburban developments along streetcar routes, and rental rates showing both higher and lower priced properties available. The thesis of Chapter Four is that the “residence city” was a philosophy put forth by city boosters in Raleigh in which the single-family home became the symbol of progress and refinement. However, single-family homes competed with multi-family housing choices, which were not restricted to working-class or African American neighborhoods; instead, it became an important housing choice among the middle-class.

⁵³ Kyriakoudes, *Social Origins of the Urban South*, 136.

The fifth chapter of this dissertation, “House as Private Residence, House as Income Strategy: the “Suburban Ideal” and the Vernacular Uses of Single-Family Homes,” argues that the goals of city boosters and local businessmen to maintain a “residence city” crumbled in the face of new economic schemes and housing choices put in place by suburban homeowners. The combination of fieldwork photographs, classified advertisements describing living spaces for rent, and deed research reveal that the homeowners of single-family homes throughout Raleigh’s downtown and suburbs chose to break up their single-family homes into separate apartments. This chapter uses fieldwork photographs and the classified advertisements for extant houses to trace the vernacular uses of both Victorian-era houses and newer twentieth century bungalows. It contrasts the architecture of the single-family house with the presence of multiple families under one roof. By focusing on particular exterior architectural features such as the front porch and private entrances, this chapter discusses the strategies used by homeowners to incorporate non-family members into their households in the form of renters. Also, this chapter organizes the single-family house examples by suburban neighborhood to situate the house in historical context, identifying the socio-economic profile of particular suburbs and putting them in chronological order or build date.

As Chapter Five demonstrates, the combination of fieldwork photographs, classified advertisements describing living spaces for rent, and deed research reveal that the homeowners of single-family homes throughout Raleigh’s suburbs

chose to break up their single-family homes into separate apartments.

Homeowners partially rejected the idyllic image painted by suburban developers like Parker and Hunter (who built Cameron Park) in which the suburban home housed a single, middle-class family. They also employed new terminology such as “apartment” or “modern conveniences” in the wording of classified newspaper advertisements. They altered the architecture of their houses to accommodate more individuals and to emphasize privacy. It did not matter if a homeowner owned an older, oversized Victorian-era mansion or an efficient and smaller modern 1920s-style home in Raleigh. Both types of property-owners relied on this strategy of subdividing their houses. In the process, homeowners altered suburban development densities by introducing more residents than originally planned for in a particular community.

Homeowners applied apartment living and multi-family life to single-family architecture and suburban neighborhood development. Homeowners circumnavigated neighborhood restrictions about income and class by allowing tenants such as “students,” “business girls,” “young married couples,” and others with fluctuating incomes to rent in neighborhoods originally built and marketed towards a strictly middle-class audience. Finally, homeowners helped shift attitudes away from the strictness of homeownership towards renting as a respected and accepted housing choice in spite of suburban realtor-developers, such as Parker and Hunter, who wanted homeownership to dominate neighborhoods such as Cameron Park. Homeowners also used strategies such

as the inclusion of new technologies (such as running water, steam heat, electricity, and phone), competitive pricing, and architectural features such as private entrances and private porches to lure renters to a particular property.

The final chapter of this dissertation is entitled “‘Dwellings for Rent’: The Rise of the Developer Apartment House.” Chapter Six argues that in post- World War I Raleigh, and throughout the decade of the 1920s, real estate developers reimagined housing options initially downtown and ultimately stretching out into the suburbs. The “residence city” image of suburban, single-family homes, so carefully constructed by business boosters and city officials, was remade by real estate developers who reimagined suburban spaces to include the multi-family housing form of the apartment house. This chapter traces the historical development of the apartment form in the northern United States and its southern incarnation and how that housing form became acceptable for middle-class tenants. The apartment house was introduced to Raleigh in two ways. First, apartment hotels, intended for more long-term residency than a traditional short stay hotel, such as The Park, the Sir Walter Raleigh, and The Yarborough House, could be converted into apartment houses. Second, capital investors and entrepreneurs, such as C. V. York and W. B. Drake, Jr. (who built The Capital and The Vance apartment houses), V. O. Parker and Carey J. Hunter (financiers of the Cameron Park suburb), and Josephus Daniels (editor of the *News and Observer* newspaper and investor in Raleigh real estate) invested money to

construct new building projects across Raleigh and her suburbs, including apartment houses.

Chapter 6 complicates the idea of the suburban neighborhood as one made up of single-family homes because it discusses the introduction of a new architectural form, the apartment house, to 1920's Raleigh as a part of the modernization of the city. Using fieldwork photographs to do architectural analysis, this chapter compares the architectural strategies used by developers for apartment houses built in the downtown business districts (which had much finer and more expensive materials) with more modest buildings (architecturally meant to mimic the surrounding single-family homes); a suburban apartment house, The Wilmont, that has the grand architectural scale of a downtown apartment house in a suburban setting; and finally, with a unique case study of The Fincher (the only extant African American apartment house). The most important contribution of Chapter Six is that it documents extant apartment houses in Raleigh through fieldwork photographs and architectural analysis. Only fourteen apartment houses are extant in the city today whereas in the 1920s thirty-two different buildings were classified as "apartment houses" in Raleigh city directories. Sadly, many of them, and their unique architectural elements, have been erased from the cityscape.

Conclusion

In the first three decades of the twentieth century, Raleigh, North Carolina, underwent a transition from a provincial southern town to a bustling city. Raleigh experienced enormous population growth and a housing and construction boom. This new Raleigh was born out of the modernizing decade of the 1920s and changing ideas about what constituted a “modern” lifestyle. The choice to focus on one city does not preclude documenting a variety of experiences. This dissertation tracks biographical information for workers in a variety of occupations. It looks at suburban developments in different parts of the city that catered to different socio-economic groups and different races. Housing was a key component in constructing modernity in the eyes of visitors and would-be residents in the city. Modernity and privacy came to be applied to architecture and urban and suburban spatial patterns. Raleigh residents, both homeowners and apartment renters, used architecture in a way that defied the standards of suburban ideals that emphasized the privacy and middle-class identity of the single-family home. In order to invent a modern lifestyle during this transitional architectural period, Raleighites invested suburban spaces with a modernity based on amenities, mobility, and a new sense of privacy. Classified advertisements reveal that suburban developers’ intentions are only one part of the story. Private homeowners used their single-family homes in unexpected ways to make additional income.

Quantitatively, this project uses multiple types of primary sources (classified advertisements, city directories, fieldwork photographs, census records, newspaper editorials, city booster literature, digitized municipal data in the form of deeds and tax information, and historic maps) to both compile spatial patterns in Raleigh in the 1920s and to define expectations about housing on the part of renters, homeowners, capitalist investors, and suburban entrepreneurs. Qualitatively, these sources can be read as cultural texts as a way to understand the development of modernity in Raleigh and the role that the new apartment housing form and the division of suburban homes into multi-family housing spaces, to serve a market of suburban renters, played in that transition.

The appearance of apartment houses in suburban landscapes, as well as the occupational, gender, and racial makeup of residents, complicate the idea of the suburb as a “middle-class enclave.” Multi-family housing patterns, in single-family built homes, demonstrate that homeowners made decisions about spatial allocation within the home in direct opposition to the intentions of architects and suburban realtor-developers. Suburban entrepreneurs and capital investors in suburban apartment houses competed for customers in Raleigh’s housing market. The suburban apartment house provided a compromise between the single-family built home, advocated by realtor-developers, and other traditional urban housing choices such as a boarding house or apartment hotel. Homeowners and renters defined modernity by access to new technologies and the exclusivity of neighborhoods.

CHAPTER II

“A TOWN THAT WAKED UP AND BECAME A CITY”: TRADITIONAL AND MODERN MULTI-FAMILY HOUSING OPTIONS IN RALEIGH

Introduction

On February 28, 1925, *The Raleigh Times* newspaper declared “Raleigh, A Town That Waked Up And Became a City.” Likening Raleigh to Washington Irving’s fairytale character Rip Van Winkle, who slept for twenty years, the paper said the “slumbering village” of the turn of the century had “grown into a progressive city” by the mid-1920s. As evidence for this assertion, the paper’s editors cited Raleigh’s growth in such fields as manufacturing, population, automobile ownership, and new school construction. Tucked away in this list of comparative growth statistics between 1900 and 1925, the paper made mention of “residential construction [that] has spread beyond the old limits in every direction” and of the introduction of “modern apartment houses.” The city was flush with “modern business buildings,” apartment hotels such as The Sir Walter Raleigh, The Park, and The Yarborough and suburban housing construction. By 1925, the apartment house had also been established as a brand new architectural form in the city. In 1900 there were none, but by 1925 there were a total of eleven of these “modern” apartment houses built across the cityscape. As the article quite rightly stated about this new, modern, Raleigh, “A city has sprung up where a village stood.” *The Raleigh Times* editors recognized that the

state capital of North Carolina was now a force to be reckoned with, as it proclaimed that “southward the tide of empire flows” when describing this place of “new business and new folks.”¹

Raleigh transitioned from a provincial town into a modern, southern city in the 1920s as traditional multi-family housing options, such as the boarding house and apartment hotel, gave way to new choices including rental space within converted single-family houses and apartment units in apartment houses. The appeal of these new housing choices lay in the fact that they were located in neighborhoods sorted for income and race and in the new technologies and amenities available to residents. The relatively late timing of the transition of Raleigh into a city is reflective of North Carolina’s delayed urban development among other East Coast states. The introduction of the modern textile, tobacco, poultry, and hog industries led to sweeping commercial networks across the state without necessarily leading to accompanying urban development. As historian Catherine Bisher has written, in comparison with southern metropolitan giants such as Atlanta or Birmingham, North Carolina’s urban growth can be seen, “in a series of small cities—not a great glittering solitaire diamond, but a string of middle sized pearls—strung along the rail lines from Wilmington through Raleigh, Greensboro, Winston, to Charlotte and Asheville.”² As the work of architectural

¹ “A Town That Waked Up and Became a City,” *Raleigh Times*, February 28, 1925.

² Catherine W. Bisher, “Introduction,” in *Early Twentieth Century Suburbs in North Carolina: Essays on History, Architecture, and Planning Raleigh·Durham·Greensboro·Winston-Salem·Charlotte*, eds. Catherine W. Bisher and Lawrence S. Earley (Raleigh, NC: Archaeology

and urban historians Catherine Bisher, Michael Southern, Thomas Hanchett, and David Goldfield indicates, as well as the research behind this dissertation, the historiographical models provided about case studies of metropolitan and postbellum northern United States cities have limited applicability to North Carolina.³ In the case of North Carolina, historically it has been the relationship between town and suburb that was more important than downtown living itself. As Bisher wrote almost twenty-five years ago about housing patterns in North Carolina,

In small cities across the state, urban residents [lived] not in tightly packed blocks of rowhouses or apartment towers but, for the most part, spread out in single-family suburban neighborhoods or suburban apartments; they space themselves across the landscape, among the trees, and along the highways to create an urban population that is, as it has been for nearly a century, almost entirely suburban.⁴

And yet Bisher's assessment of the state as a whole conflicts somewhat with primary source evidence about Raleigh. Apartment towers or houses *were* included in suburban neighborhoods and single-family homes were not always used as private residences for individual families. Instead, Raleigh homeowners

and Historic Preservation Section, Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1985), 3.

³ See for example selected essays in *Early Twentieth Century Suburbs in North Carolina: Essays on History, Architecture, and Planning Raleigh·Durham·Greensboro·Winston-Salem·Charlotte*, eds. Catherine W. Bisher and Lawrence S. Earley (Raleigh, NC: Archaeology and Historic Preservation Section, Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1985).

⁴ Bisher, "Introduction," *Early Twentieth Century Suburbs*, 3.

and rental companies carved out space in the city by inventing multi-family housing circumstances out of architecture intended for single-family usage.

The twentieth century marked Raleigh's reinvention as a modern city. Bisher maintains that early twentieth century urbanization in North Carolina "was...the period in which our cities placed determined emphasis upon modernization in a national context—established water lines, sewage systems, sanitation plants, improved roads and streets, electric lighting, and all the other vital aspects of today's life."⁵ Historians of the New South, such as C. Vann Woodward, Edward L. Ayers, and Grace Elizabeth Hale, have sought to collapse local distinctions into regional patterns and have produced monolithic portraits of economic, social, and political change in the early twentieth century South, when examined from an architectural point of view.⁶ As historian Sarah McCulloh Lemmon has written, "The term 'New South' calls to mind the spectacular rise of Birmingham and Atlanta, the speeches and writings of Henry Grady...the consolidation of southern railroads, and the rise of cotton mills, steel mills, and cigarette factories in the Piedmont crescent from Virginia to Alabama."⁷ Generally, the characteristics of the "New South" (minus the agricultural diversification of the region, which is inapplicable to the city) included courting

⁵ Ibid., 6.

⁶ See for example Woodward, *A History of the South*; Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); and Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940* (New York: Vintage Books, 1998).

⁷ Sarah McCulloh Lemmon, "Raleigh-An Example of the 'New South'?" *The North Carolina Historical Review*, 43 (July 1966): 261.

industry; public education systems, and the improvement of cities through infrastructure and development. A cursory glance at the new types of housing, businesses, educational institutions, and commercial opportunities of a city like Raleigh in the 1920s demonstrates the importance of considering localized distinctions.

Evaluating Raleigh's Traditional Multi-family Housing Options

Visitors to Raleigh, these “new folks” who wished to develop a more permanent relationship with the capital, as well as locals, had several housing options at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁸ Both boarding houses and apartment hotels provided important housing options for transient groups. This included people like college students, traveling salesmen, theater performers, itinerant preachers, those on the lecture circuit, or young, professionals newly graduated from Raleigh’s business colleges. Additionally, the temporary nature

⁸ The “new folks” in Raleigh were primarily the result of movement from country to town. In the first few decades of the twentieth century, a combination of events including the recession of 1920-1921, the First Red Scare, the trial of Italian immigrants and anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, and the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan combined to produce strong nativist (anti-immigrant) sentiment in the United States. As historian Charles N. Glaab has written about this period, “With immigration from abroad sharply restricted, cities in the 1920s achieved their large growth in population through internal migration, since city-dwellers did not reproduce at replacement levels until the period after 1940.” See Charles N. Glaab, “Metropolis and Suburb: The Changing American City,” in *Change and Continuity in Twentieth century America: The 1920s*, eds. John Braeman, Robert H. Bremner, and David Brody (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1968), 414. The Congress of the United States explicitly restricted foreign immigration in the 1920s with the Emergency Quota Act of 1921 and the Immigration Act of 1924. The Emergency Quota Act of 1921 limited immigration to 3 percent of the number of immigrants who had been living here in 1910. The Immigration Act of 1924 was more stringent than the 1921 provision and restricted new arrivals to the United States to 2 percent of foreign born residents living in America according to the 1890 Census (when the number of new immigrants to the United States was small). This Act limited the flow of southern and eastern Europeans from coming to America, as well as most Asians until after World War II.

of a boarding house or an apartment hotel was an ideal housing solution for newcomers to the city who were not sure of what neighborhoods were best for renting, buying, or building a home. By speaking with individuals across the boarding house dining table or meeting other newcomers or residents in the front lobby of an apartment hotel, one might gain valuable information about sections of the city which would have the kind of economic and racial characteristics one was looking for. Still others, like a “young bachelor” or “business gentleman,” who might look for housing in the newspaper, may have preferred to be unburdened with household goods and household responsibilities. Boarding houses and apartment hotels were the kind of housing option that appealed to these groups because they were viewed as respectable; after all, such institutions had existed and thrived all over the United States, especially in the period following the Civil War. They were a safe and traditional choice.

Local boarding houses could lure clients through the promise of a hot meal and a home-like atmosphere. For example, in this advertisement, from the *Raleigh News and Observer* newspaper classifieds of 1926, the boarding house operator emphasized this connection to home, “FOR RENT- TWO NICE STEAM heated rooms with one private bath. Good board. Mother's Home Cooking, 111 Hillsboro St. Phone 2744-J.”⁹ This advertisement highlights for the potential tenant two important and traditional Victorian values—domesticity and privacy. A tenant seeking shelter at this boarding house would have access to a private

⁹ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, November 7, 1926.

bath which was a luxury at this address and not included in each room.

Additionally, visitors to 111 Hillsboro St. would have been able to enact the important ritual of the family meal by eating “Mother’s Home Cooking” at a communal table with other house guests. This boarding house operator was also able to attract clients by the inclusion of a home telephone number for potential tenants to call. The new technology of the telephone was one way that a boarding house, perhaps located in an older, nineteenth century home, might appear more “modern” to tenants.

In a boarding house, tenants rented rooms and ate their meals (usually breakfast and dinner) with the proprietor and other tenants in a common dining room.¹⁰ In 1929, for example, a Mrs. Wiley M. Rogers operated a Raleigh boarding house at 118 N. Wilmington Street. Mrs. Rogers advertised her property in the following manner which emphasized the comforts of home, “COMFORTABLE, HEATED ROOMS hot and cold water. Best table board. Home like surroundings. Private garage. Mrs. Wiley M. Rogers. 118 N. Wilmington St.”¹¹ Tenants would both live and eat at Rogers’ boarding house and enjoy the “home like surroundings.” Not only did Mrs. Wiley provide a meal and a homey dining and living area for guests, she asserted that her home cooking was the “best” to be had in Raleigh. Mrs. Wiley, like the operator at the

¹⁰ The phrase “boarding house reach” is related to the distinction between boarding houses and resident hotels. According to historian Paul Groth in boarding houses “traditionally, the food was put on the table, and everyone scrambled for the best dishes. Those with a long, fast reach ate best.” See Paul Groth, *Living Downtown: The History of Residential Hotels in the United States* (Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), 6.

¹¹ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, February 3, 1929.

111 Hillsboro St. house, advertised above, also sought to attract tenants with the embrace of new technologies when she emphasized the “private garage” for a visitor’s automobile. The freedom an automobile could provide, as well as it being a status marker of wealth, would be important to a newcomer to Raleigh who was traveling to other southern cities or who perhaps left loved ones back at home elsewhere.

In some ways, then, by the 1920s in Raleigh, the traditional boarding house straddled the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by a reliance on the values of domesticity and privacy while at the same time incorporating new technologies as sought after amenities for guests. Historian Paul Groth has argued that, “Boarding with a family offered more traditional home-style conviviality, more social respectability, and generally better food than hotel life,” perhaps a clue as to the popularity of the boarding house option in Raleigh, which persisted throughout the 1920s.¹² Boarding houses, however, were not always temporary housing solutions. For native-born migrants to the city, the boarding house could be a long-term housing choice, which was not always the case for immigrants who typically moved on to rental housing and sometimes home ownership as soon as financially possible.¹³ Raleigh is distinct from other contemporary southern cities in the early twentieth century, in that while

¹² Groth, *Living Downtown*, 122.

¹³ John Modell and Tamara K. Hareven, “Urbanization and the Malleable Household: An Examination of Boarding and Lodging in American Families,” *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 35, no. 3 (August 1973): 467-479.

elsewhere apartment houses and single-family homes in the suburbs were replacing boarding houses and apartment hotels as *the* housing type of choice, the number of boarding houses advertising in the city directories fluctuated year by year but ultimately many remained by the end of the decade. This distinctiveness is likely related to the high number of part time city residents. Since Raleigh was a capital city and an educational center for the state of North Carolina, it housed such a large number of legislators, government workers, and college students that needed respectable, but temporary housing solutions throughout the year. Boarding houses or apartment hotels provided that service.

Sometimes, homeowners also straddled the worlds of the boarding house and the private, single-family home by positioning themselves, at times, as a quasi-boarding house. Some landlords explicitly made reference to this boarding house life in classified advertisements by offering board included with rent in apartments located within private homes in Raleigh as explained in Table 1, below.

Table 1. Provision of Board in Apartment Advertisements

Board Provided	1919	1922	1926	1929
Yes	6	33	97	84
Tenant's choice	3	7	14	9

Table 1: This table tracks the instances of “board” advertised in apartment rental housing for each year of the database study. Line one records the small, but significant portion of apartments that served as quasi-boarding houses by offering tenants some meals with rent by year. These property addresses do not correspond with listed boarding houses in the city limits in the Raleigh City Directories. Line two records properties that left board as a choice for tenants by year, usually worded as “board provided, if desired” within a particular advertisement. Raleigh, North Carolina, *News and Observer*.

In Table 1, above, we can see change over time as gradually, over the course of the decade, more and more private home owners chose to offer board to renters. While only six houses offered board to renters in 1919 by 1926, that number had soared to ninety-seven and the still high number of eighty-four by the end of the decade. Occasionally, homeowners left renters the option of deciding to dine with the family or alone. Private homeowners could attract renters, then, by offering a lifestyle compromise—the privacy of a rental within a single-family home with communal benefits such as common dining.

Other traditional, multi-family housing choices included rooming or lodging houses. In a private rooming house or lodging house tenants usually rented just the room and ate elsewhere. If a tenant ate at the house they were called “boarders,” if not, they were just “roomers” or “lodgers.” In the Raleigh *News and Observer* newspaper classifieds, we do not see the use of the terms “roomers” or “lodgers” but frequently advertisements suggested that a room for rent was all that would be provided and not a meal, so evidence does exist that traditional boarding houses did not have a monopoly on the market. For example, in a 1922 advertisement, two young ladies were willing to accept lodging with or without board, but they would only “consider room without board if same can be obtained nearby.”¹⁴ Tenants were willing to settle for lodging houses over

¹⁴ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, February 12, 1922.

boarding houses if the house was central enough to reasonably affordable eateries nearby.¹⁵

Others, however, preferred the modern amenities and higher degree of privacy offered at a residential hotel or an apartment house. One could stay in the Park Hotel, newly converted to the Raleigh Apartments, and run by proprietor Howell Cobb.¹⁶ The Raleigh Apartments were strategically located at the corner of West Martin and McDowell streets, a district which had been converted from residential to strictly business by 1913. Lawyer, amateur historian, and city business booster, Moses Amis, called the Raleigh Apartments an “apartment house,” describing it as “one of the handsomest buildings in the city or state...[that] fills a long-felt want to meet the growing necessities of the capital city, and would do credit to any metropolis in the country.”¹⁷ Howell Cobb also owned the Yarborough House, considered Raleigh’s “finest hotel” and the location that many visitors used as transitional housing before securing a rental

¹⁵ Occasionally, tenants in a rooming house or lodging house had kitchen access to cook their meals on their own, but this detail is not revealed in newspaper classifieds for Raleigh. See Groth, *Living Downtown*, 313, endnote 14.

¹⁶ The Park Hotel was built by A. F. Page and completed in 1893. Before 1905 it was remodeled by William P. Rose, architect, for \$25,000. During this renovation The Park was renamed The Raleigh as it transitioned from being a winter-guests-only establishment, to accommodating visitors all year long. The Raleigh had seven floors, each 135 by 160 feet, a 100 person capacity dining room, electricity, and steam heat. In 1912, the Raleigh Hotel was again renovated and converted to the Raleigh Apartments. It was Raleigh’s first converted apartment house. See Elizabeth Culbertson Waugh, *North Carolina’s Capital, Raleigh* (Raleigh, NC: Junior League of Raleigh, Inc., Raleigh Historic Sites Commission, Inc., North Carolina Department of Archives and History, North Carolina Museum of Art, 1967), 151.

¹⁷ Moses N. Amis, *Historical Raleigh (Enlarged and Revised Edition) with Sketches of Wake County (From 1771) and its Important Towns: Descriptive, Biographical, Educational, Industrial, Religious* (Raleigh, NC: Commercial Printing Company Printers and Binders, 1913), 172-173.

property in Raleigh.¹⁸ In this 1922 *News and Observer* advertisement, for example, "WANTED FURNISHED OR UN-furnished apartment or small house, by couple. Must be in desirable neighborhood. X, Y, Z Yarborough Hotel," the Yarborough was considered a step in the housing process and not necessarily a permanent residence.¹⁹

Architectural historian Paul Groth's study of residential hotels (also known as apartment hotels) in San Francisco, *Living Downtown*, provides much-needed historical context for understanding these living spaces during their peak period in the United States from 1880 to 1930. Groth maintains that, "These fifty years...marked the widest viable range of housing diversity in American urban history."²⁰ His study breaks down hotel choices into four categories: palace hotels, midpriced hotels, rooming houses, and cheap lodging houses. Groth makes the important distinction between transients and residents,

The definition of permanent residence in a hotel (as opposed to being a transient guest) has to do with the length of time one stays. In most states, if a tenant lives in a hotel room for more than a month, that room is then a residential hotel unit, and the person is legally considered a permanent resident of the city. The one-month residency often applies to apartment dwellers as well and has been a typical residence requirement since the time of the Civil War.²¹

¹⁸ Waugh, *North Carolina's Capital*, 91.

¹⁹ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, August 20, 1922.

²⁰ Groth, *Living Downtown*, Preface, x.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 5-6.

Groth's study of San Francisco, a much larger city in a very different region of the country, makes for an interesting comparison between the Bay City and Raleigh. In smaller cities, like Raleigh, one building usually served as both the palace hotel and the best midpriced hotel at the same time.²² Both the Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel and the Park Hotel (converted to the Raleigh Apartments) were outfitted with luxuries deserving of the name "palace." These luxuries were outlined in an article on The Park Hotel, in the 1904 *Raleigh Illustrated* which read,

Every comfort and convenience is provided, including up-to-date elevator service. The office, writing rooms, lounging room and lobby are handsomely decorated, have mosaic tiling and marble wainscoting. The house is conveniently situated a block from the business center of the city, a block from Union Station...This makes it a favorite stopping place for travelers and tourists.

Much like the transient populations attracted to boarding houses, a residential or apartment hotel was a popular choice because of the proximity to entertainment, eating, and business opportunities in downtown. In small ways, architectural details such as the "mosaic tiling" and "marble wainscoting" in a Raleigh apartment hotel could mimic the expected aesthetic in luxury establishments in a place like San Francisco, New York, or Chicago.

Hotels were popular as both temporary and longer-term living spaces for a variety of reasons. They appealed to people with unusual schedules and provided most services (such as laundry) either in the hotel or very nearby.

²² Ibid., 71.

Residential hotels were usually located downtown near retail, dining, recreation, and employment facilities. While residents were sure to encounter a variety of different types of individuals, “hotel life [could be] virtually untouched by the social contracts and tacit supervision of life found in a family house or apartment unit shared with a group.”²³ Hotels required minimum time commitments and residents did not have to haul around household goods or large furnishing sets. Since hotel residents were fairly unencumbered by personal possessions and furnishings, when looking for more permanent housing in a suburban home or apartment house, they were, perhaps, the types of residents attracted by classified advertisements that offered “furnished” apartments or rooms for rent.²⁴

Apartment hotels or residential hotels in Raleigh served as a transitional solution to housing dilemmas, as the following *News and Observer* newspaper advertisement illustrates, “WANTED TO RENT, TWO OR three room furnished apartment or unfurnished cottage in suburbs, by small family. Mr. Ray. Hotel Wiley.”²⁵ Mr. Ray, who placed the above advertisement, used the Hotel Wiley as headquarters in Raleigh while he searched for more permanent space in a “furnished apartment or unfurnished cottage.” Some middle-income families who were new to a city, like Raleigh, might have to wait anywhere up to a year in a

²³ Ibid., 7.

²⁴ 864 classified advertisements in the sample used in this project contained apartments that were listed as furnished. Typically, an advertisement would make a general observation about a particular property being “furnished.” Occasionally, specific items, usually beds, were listed.

²⁵ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, March 21, 1926.

residential hotel until a suitable apartment or house could be rented or bought in the area.²⁶ J.W. Alford, like Mr. Ray, also used the newspaper to find housing, "WANTED AT ONCE- 5 ROOM HOUSE with water and lights. Address or phone J.W. Alford, Yarborough Hotel."²⁷ Alford used the Yarborough Hotel as a beginning point to Raleigh relocation.

Apartment hotels served an important economic function in Raleigh by connecting landlords and property owners with tenants. Newcomers provided an income resource as potential tenants for boarding house operators, apartment hotel owners, or private home owners who needed renters, while those business people contributed to Raleigh's economic and population growth. The classifieds are an important cultural artifact which documents this economic exchange and Raleigh had a variety of these hotels, which helped transition folks to city life. For example, in this advertisement, "MIDDLE-AGED COUPLE WITHOUT CHILDREN DESIRE EITHER ONE LARGE ROOM OR ROOM AND KITCHENETTE OR SMALL APARTMENT CLOSE IN. PHONE ROOM 5, WRIGHT'S HOTEL," the Wright's Hotel was the place to contact by phone or letter or even potentially meet these tenants.²⁸ Or in this example, "WANTED-2 OR 3 FURNISHED OR unfurnished rooms for light housekeeping. Room 604 Bland Hotel," this potential tenant (or tenants) was looking to move into a new

²⁶ Groth. *Living Downtown*, 57.

²⁷ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, March 30, 1919.

²⁸ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, July 27, 1919.

living situation while experiencing the city as an apartment hotel guest.²⁹ In some cases renters were looking for a living situation away from the apartment hotel but still close to downtown and the business district. For example, in this 1919 advertisement, a man wanted rooms in proximity to the Raleigh Hotel, "YOUNG MAN DESIRES PERMANENT room and board with private family in vicinity of Raleigh Hotel; would consider either. References exchanged. H.L. Prosser, Jr., care Raleigh Hotel."³⁰ Perhaps the man desired to be close to the hotel because he was employed there or wished to use the lobby for business purposes. Potentially, his family members or sweetheart would need a respectable hotel to stay in when they came for a visit. Regardless of his motivation, this "young man" used the apartment hotel as a starting point for Raleigh housing and wanted to continue frequenting the establishment.

Evaluating Raleigh's Modern Multi-family Housing Options

In Raleigh, the term "apartment" was first used in the newspaper classifieds in the 1920s and it reflected both the introduction of a new architectural form, known as the "apartment house," the breaking up of single-family homes into multi-family living spaces, and also a cultural change as residents began to view modern multi-family options with a favorable light. Historian Elizabeth Cromley's work gives us a historically specific definition of

²⁹ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, September 7, 1919.

³⁰ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, September 21, 1919.

apartments from their mid-nineteenth-century origins in New York as “any set of rooms: a suite in a hotel or a set of rental rooms in a private house (also called a ‘floor’) or a family unit in an apartment building.”³¹ However, Cromley’s definition is entirely place-based as she uses primary sources, such as period journal articles about architecture, apartment house interior floor plans, newspaper accounts, period literature, magazines, and advice manuals which were specific to New York City to establish her definition and how it changed over time. Her work focuses primarily on the introduction of the apartment house form to the city and its architectural evolution. Cromley’s history of the subdivision of single-family housing into multi-family dwellings and the introduction of the apartment house in New York City takes place well over a half-century before any such patterns are visible in Raleigh.³²

In Raleigh, if one wanted to find a place to live, whether a boarding house placement or an apartment or house to rent, one looked in the major newspaper in the city, the *News and Observer*. The *News and Observer* did not list “Apartments for Rent” in the 1920s. If a person desired living space in the city, they looked under the “Rooms for Rent” category in the classifieds.³³ The word

³¹ Elizabeth Collins Cromley, *Alone Together: A History of New York’s Early Apartments* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), 5.

³² See Chapter 6: “Dwellings for Rent”: The Rise of the Developer Apartment House in this dissertation for further discussion of the development of the apartment house form generally in the United States and specifically in Raleigh.

³³ There is very little variation in this terminology in the 1919, 1922, 1926, and 1929 advertisements contained within the sample used for this project. Occasionally (with no explanation given by the paper’s editors), in the 1919 classifieds some weeks used headings

“apartment” in the Raleigh housing market could mean either a set of rooms within a single-family home in which the owners rented out a portion of their house to non-family members or it could mean an individual home within an apartment house that housed multiple dwellings. The specifics of the language of these advertisements alerted the reader that this was an apartment or set of rooms for rent, even if the word apartment was never used in a particular ad, which was oftentimes the case. As more apartment houses were introduced as a new building form into Raleigh, the definition of “apartment” evolved from being not just a portion of a formerly single-family home that had been broken up, but a multi-family dwelling specifically designed to house multiple tenants. When the street addresses from the classified advertisements are cross-referenced with *Hill’s City Directories* for Raleigh (which listed all prominent business and private addresses that chose to advertise with the company) we see the introduction of terminology specifically linked to apartments. Starting with just four “Apartment Houses” (The Capital Apartments, The College Court Apartments, The Raleigh Apartments, and The Royster Building), the 1918-1919 city directory introduced a new vocabulary for residents and migrants to use when they thought about

such as “HOUSES, APARTMENTS WANTED,” “FOR RENT,” “WANTED TO RENT,” “ROOMS AND BOARD” were used to list available rentals, both business and residential. By 1922, there was a consolidation of the housing advertisements in the News and Observer into two categories: “ROOMS-HOUSES For Rent” and “ROOMS-HOUSES Wanted.” Also, all of the housing ads were moved into one column in the paper rather than being scattered among the entire classifieds section.

modern housing in Raleigh. Not until the 1926 city directory did the term

“Apartment House” evolve into “Apartment Building.”³⁴

The characteristics of “apartments” in 1920s Raleigh could be defined in several ways by tenants and property owners in the classifieds. But they usually contained a main “room,” which could be a “living room” or a “bedroom,” some room for food preparation such as the “kitchenette,” and some plumbing facility.³⁵ According to Paul Groth, it is the lack of a private kitchen that separates hotel life from apartment house life. Apartments were different from tenements and “rooms for rent” because they had private baths (consisting of a toilet and bath) and private kitchens.³⁶ They could contain any number of rooms. The *News*

³⁴ By 1926, the apartment house was a well-established architectural feature in both Raleigh’s downtown and suburban neighborhoods. In the 1926 city directory twenty-one different apartment buildings were listed including The Bailey, The Baker, The Dromgoole, The Capital, The College Court, The Cooper, The Graystone, The Guirkin, The Hart, The Hillcrest, The Irene, The Jennings, The Johnson, The Phillips at Logan Court, The Phillips at West Morgan Street, The Rosemont, The Royster, The Salisbury, The Vance, The Wilmont and The Wynne. Due to the success and proliferation of this new housing form and since the apartments were located within one multi-family building and not a converted single-family home, it was natural that the vocabulary would evolve away from “house” to “building.” Apartments were homes within a multi-family building and they were homes that were just as respectable as those in private single-family houses. See the *Raleigh City Directory*, 1926.

³⁵ Sometimes apartments were “furnished” with a cot, sofa, daybed or Murphy bed. Paul Groth labels smaller kitchens within efficiency apartments as “buffet kitchens” and sees them as early as 1911 in San Francisco. The “kitchenette” became a popular term in the 1920s for a six-foot by eight-foot room which allowed for simple food preparation and capitalized on the new packaged foods available in grocery stores. According to Groth, “Unskilled women working in canneries and food processing plants were doing many of the food preparation steps formerly done in individual kitchens.” See Groth, *Living Downtown*, 86. According to historian Elizabeth Collins Cromley, “Small kitchenettes became popular in apartment hotels and efficiency apartments of the 1910s and 1920s. A kitchenette, sometimes called a buffet kitchen, had small dimensions and reduced counter space, but still supplied a full sink and refrigerator, and a stove, a hot plate, or a warming oven.” See Elizabeth Collins Cromley, *The Food Axis: Cooking, Eating, and the Architecture of American Houses* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 164.

³⁶ Groth, *Living Downtown*, 7.

and Observer classifieds contained advertisements using the word “apartment” to describe two, three, four, five, six, even seven rooms. Apartments located in Cameron Park, for example, could be quite large as Figure 1, below, suggests.

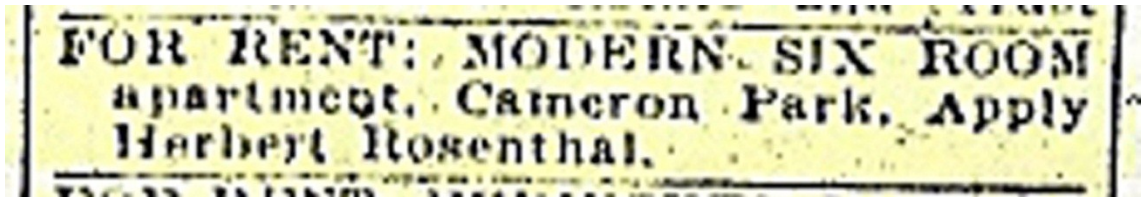


Figure 1. February 5, 1922 Advertisement. One large, “modern,” six room apartment in Cameron Park. The use of the place name “Cameron Park” makes this almost certainly a residential and not business property. Cameron Park was one of three important suburbs platted in the first two decades of the twentieth century in Raleigh, along with Glenwood and Boylan Heights. Raleigh, North Carolina. *News and Observer*.

One “refined couple” looking for housing in 1922 knew exactly what they meant by “apartment”—“A REFINED COUPLE. NO CHILDREN, want a two, three, or four-room furnished, heated apartment in good section. Address F-507, care *News and Observer*.”³⁷ This couple was flexible on space but inflexible about location as they wanted an apartment in only a “good section” of the city. Two ladies in the following advertisement emphasized location once again with a reference to the “car line” or the streetcar system in Raleigh, “WANTED BY AUG. 21 FURNISHED apartment, bedroom, dining room, bath, kitchenette with gas stove. Prefer northern part of city near car line. Two ladies. References exchanged. Address E-302. Care *News and Observer*.”³⁸ Apartment advertisements could refer both interior AND exterior features; as this 1922

³⁷ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, October 15, 1922.

³⁸ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, August 13, 1922.

example shows, "WANTED BY YOUNG COUPLE furnished apartment, two rooms and kitchenette, with privilege of garage. J-609, care News and Observer."³⁹ Perhaps this apartment was suburban and the couple wanted a garage so they could store the automobile to drive into town or maybe they secured a property in town and wished for a garage to accommodate a vehicle for leisure travel or to visit friends and family elsewhere.

In 1922 not all of the apartment houses of Raleigh had been constructed yet and private homes still dominated the classifieds and the housing market. This dissertation focuses on the period of transition in the housing market in Raleigh between a time dominated by boarding houses and the rise of developer-built apartment houses. Private homeowners responded to the desire for "modern" housing on the part of potential tenants and migrants to Raleigh by subdividing their houses into rental spaces. Boarding houses could provide bedrooms and meals but not necessarily modern amenities nor true privacy as an apartment lifestyle could.

Apartments in private homes could provide a higher standard of living for the less well-off such as single people or young, newly married couples. These folks, after all, were probably moving out from their parent's home for the first time in their lives and were accustomed to a certain degree of refinement in the home. Paul Groth's research found that in 1926 the cost to completely furnish a "professional person's household, with no servant and only an upright piano" as a

³⁹ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, October 29, 1922.

luxury could cost \$5,000.⁴⁰ That was a hefty sum to those just starting out on a city adventure. However, by renting a furnished apartment in a private home, one might enjoy fine furnishings, private spaces, and a respectable address at a price spread out over a monthly rental as opposed to a flat fee to construct and outfit your own house. For example, this 1922 advertisement reads, "WANTED: BY YOUNG COUPLE furnished apartment, two rooms and kitchenette, with privilege of garage. C-607, care News and Observer."⁴¹ This young couple was looking for an apartment (defined in this case by the two rooms and kitchenette) and they asked for the "privilege of garage." Although we do not know which address the couple eventually selected for their home in Raleigh, the fact that they asked for an apartment with garage access suggests that they were exactly the type of renter in this market who was looking for an apartment within a private home. The large apartment houses in Raleigh were not very numerous in 1922 and a boarding house, with a multitude of boarders, could not necessarily accommodate many automobiles within one house's garage.

Living in a house or an apartment were both acceptable choices to tenants, as the continued presence of classified advertisements for apartments within converted single-family homes and modern apartment houses attests. One example is this advertisement, which reads, "WANTED FURNISHED OR UN-furnished apartment or small house, by couple. Must be in desirable

⁴⁰ Groth, *Living Downtown*, 61.

⁴¹ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, October 22, 1922.

neighborhood. X, Y, Z Yarborough Hotel."⁴² The potential tenants in this advertisement do not express a preference for an apartment or a house, instead equating the two as desirable candidates. Or consider both of these advertisements from August 13, 1922, in which an apartment, a house, or a flat served the same housing function,

WANTED TO RENT SIX ROOM house or flat on or before October 1st, modern conveniences, desirable location. Address P.O. Box 894.

WANTED-TO RENT BY SEPTEMBER 1st, 5 to 8 room house or apartment. Must be in good locality. Prefer convenient to Murphy School. Address Box 915 Raleigh.⁴³

The emphasis in these advertisements is on location (near the Murphy School, presumably because the tenant has children) and on “modern conveniences” or technology in the home.

Sorting The Modern City

The data on 1920s Raleigh tells a complex story. Primary source information about traditional and modern multi-family housing options suggests that there was ample physical housing available in the city. However, residents did not automatically select the option of homeownership in neighborhoods populated with single-family homes, even if that was what advocates of suburban

⁴² Classifieds, *News and Observer*, August 20, 1922.

⁴³ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, August 13, 1922.

developments may have wanted. While Raleigh could physically provide housing to many new residents in the form of boarding houses and single-family homes, the modernity and privacy offered by apartment lifestyles and the suburbs was more appealing to residents looking for a new place to live. Historian Charlotte Brown writes, "There was a heightened sense of class based on the new social and economic institutions which had begun in the years after Reconstruction. Thus Raleigh's need for housing was not the only motivation for the developers and the inhabitants of the new neighborhoods. They were also responding to needs of the population for outward signs of personal and group status."⁴⁴ The housing shortage in the early twentieth century, leading to the development of new housing forms such as apartments (situated within divided single-family homes) as well as apartment houses, was not so much a shortage in kind, but a perceived *cultural* shortage. This new lifestyle was appealing because it was modern. It was modern because of access to the streetcar, amenities and new technologies within apartments, and the exclusivity of neighborhoods pre-sorted for racial and class distinctions. The primary source evidence on housing construction and the 1920s building boom shows that housing was not in short supply in Raleigh. But the desire of residents to remain in residential hotels or

⁴⁴ Charlotte V. Brown, "Three Raleigh Suburbs: Glenwood, Boylan Heights, Cameron Park," in *Early Twentieth century Suburbs in North Carolina: Essays on History, Architecture, and Planning*, eds. Catherine W. Bisher and Lawrence S. Earley (Raleigh, NC: Archaeology and Historic Preservation Section, Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1985), 33.

boarding houses until “suitable” housing could be obtained, suggests that what was in short supply was the *right* kind of housing or the *white* kind of housing.

Suburbanization in Raleigh developed in support of a socio-economic and racial hierarchy and multi-family housing choices reflected these patterns of white supremacy on the landscape of Raleigh. White, middle-class suburbs, such as the Glenwood Subdivision in the northwest corner of the city, were typified by stylish homes set high on ridges, slopes, and hills that could take advantage of frequent breezes to cool private homes and lots perfectly fit for natural drainage.⁴⁵ Glenwood sharply contrasted with older, working-class black and white neighborhoods such as Smokey Hollow, which was east of Glenwood Avenue at the bottom of the ridge.⁴⁶ The proximity of Glenwood to Smokey Hollow is visible in Figure 2 below, entitled, *Map A: Raleigh Suburban Neighborhood Locations*, below.⁴⁷ This map shows the approximate borders of

⁴⁵ Harris et al., *Architectural and Historical Inventory*, 29.

⁴⁶ Smokey Hollow got its name from the smoke emanating from the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad roundhouse, a building used for servicing locomotives. The smoke tended to accumulate in the bottomlands because of its lower elevation. I have seen this neighborhood name spelled as both “Smokey” and “Smoky” Hollow in local sources about Raleigh. I have selected the “Smokey” spelling for this dissertation. See Richard Mattson, “The Evolution of Raleigh’s African-American Neighborhoods in the 19th and 20th Centuries” (unpublished manuscript, City of Raleigh and the North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1988), 18.

⁴⁷ There are a total of ten original maps in this project. They were created based on data from this dissertation and online information from municipal government databases. For all of the Geographic Information Systems (GIS) data a combination of the City of Raleigh’s database and the County of Wake’s database were used. The maps were drawn by Rob Grabarek, Certificate in GIS, and were created using a program called ESRI ArcGIS 10.0. The maps were created between May 2011 and August 2012. See City of Raleigh, “Geographic Information Services,” <http://www.raleighnc.gov/business/content/ITechGIS/Articles/GeographicInformationServices.html> (accessed May 1, 2011). See also County of Wake, “Wake County Geographic Information Systems,” <http://www.wakegov.com/gis/default.htm> (accessed May 1, 2011). Data on the annexations and street borders was gathered from Harris et al., *Architectural and Historical*

Raleigh's black and white suburban neighborhoods as they existed in the 1920s. While Lincolnton, Method, and Oberlin were developed and catered towards African American residents, Smokey Hollow was a mixed-use neighborhood with both black and white working-class and middle-class residents. The remaining developments pictured in *Map A* were built for white residents only.

Smokey Hollow had existed as early as the antebellum period in Raleigh and was built up in and beyond the northern borders of the city (when measured by the pre-1914 annexation). However, it really grew to a large degree between the 1870s and 1880s. Almost exclusively a working-class neighborhood, the residents of Smokey Hollow, both black and white, worked in industries such as the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad's machine shop, round house, foundry, and sawmill; the Standard Oil Company; the Foster Brother's Cotton Compress; the Ellington Royster and Company planing mill; and the Ruffin Rolies furniture factory.⁴⁸

Inventory, 14-16. Data to construct the streetcar route was gathered from Walter R. Turner, "Development of Streetcar Systems in North Carolina," Charlotte-Mecklenburg Historic Landmarks Commission, <http://www.cmhpf.org/development%20of%20streetcar%20systems.htm> (accessed June 26, 2011). Raleigh's suburban development continued in the post-World War II period and through the 1960s and 70s. The suburban neighborhoods illustrated in *Map J* are ones that were either in existence or newly built in the 1920s and thus directly relevant for this project. The borders of the suburban neighborhoods are approximations based on two histories of Raleigh's neighborhoods and suburbs. See Catherine W. Bisher and Lawrence S. Earley, eds, *Early Twentieth century Suburbs in North Carolina: Essays on History, Architecture, and Planning* (Raleigh, NC: Archaeology and Historic Preservation Section, Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1985). See Harris et al., *Early Raleigh Neighborhoods*.

⁴⁸ Ross, "Raleigh Comprehensive Architectural Survey," 5.

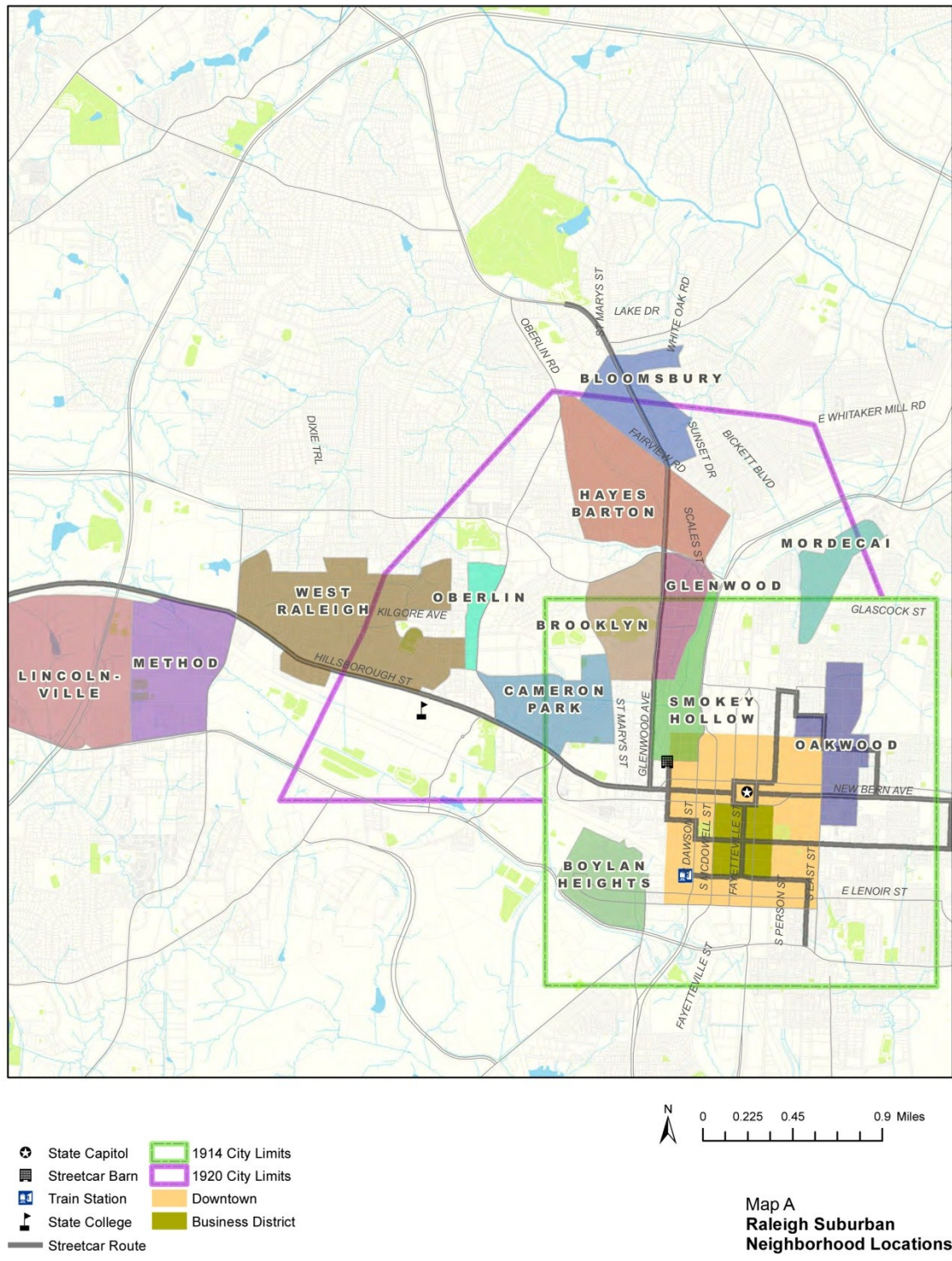


Figure 2. Map A: Raleigh Suburban Neighborhood Locations

In the late nineteenth century, Smokey Hollow was a residential district adjacent to Raleigh's industrial core. Surrounded by railroad machine shops, planing mills, a phosphate company, and a foundry, it provided easy access to work sites for residents.⁴⁹ During the first two decades of the twentieth century, the development of Raleigh's early suburbs corresponded with industrial development in distribution and storage of raw materials and finished products. This took place in the mixed use area around the Norfolk-Southern Railway line. According to a current City of Raleigh planning document, "Along Davie, Martin, West and Harrington streets, sand, gravel, and lumber lots intermingled with factories, warehouses and boarding houses."⁵⁰ This mixed use industrial, business, and residential district was indeed popular among boarding house operators and remained so into the 1920s. According to Raleigh *City Directories*, six boarding houses operated on Davie Street from 1918-1929, twelve on Martin Street, nine on West Street, and seven on Harrington Street.⁵¹ Working-class residents who worked in this new industry, transients traveling through or to Raleigh, and North Carolinians looking for more permanent housing might

⁴⁹ Mattson, "Evolution of Raleigh's African-American Neighborhoods," 18.

⁵⁰ City of Raleigh Planning Department, "The City's Development History: Town to City Era, 1900-1920," Community Inventory Report, http://raleigh-consult.limehouse.com/portal/planning/community_inventory_report?pointId=1203990088330 (accessed September 21, 2011). This electronic source is no longer available online from the City of Raleigh, but interested parties can request a paper copy from the Raleigh City Planning Department.

⁵¹ *Raleigh City Directory*, 1918-1929.

choose to buy or rent in Smokey Hollow or to house themselves in one of the city's boarding house districts.

The development of the Glenwood Subdivision effectively checked the growth of Smokey Hollow and helped to establish a spatial pattern based on racial exclusion within white suburbs in Raleigh. We can see in *Map A: Raleigh Suburban Neighborhood Locations* (Figure 2 above) that the combination of the Glenwood and Brooklyn white suburban developments, the streetcar route on Glenwood Avenue, and the downtown core all provided obstacles to the growth of Smokey Hollow. The late nineteenth century version of Raleigh, with mixed-class and mixed-race neighborhoods, as in the Smokey Hollow model, was replaced by segregated suburban developments including Glenwood, Cameron Park, Hayes Barton, and Boylan Heights. This pattern was visible to historian and sociologist Wilmoth Carter, who conducted an extensive oral history project in the 1960s while evaluating African American businesses and housing opportunities in Raleigh. In her study, *The Urban Negro in the South*, Carter pointed out that residential segregation laws did not exist as local statutes in Raleigh. Unlike the legal restrictions placed elsewhere in places like Greensboro and Winston-Salem,⁵² Raleigh lacked "involuntary residential segregation" laws.

⁵² Between the years of 1911 and 1914 both Greensboro and Winston-Salem codified residential segregation in municipal statutes. See Carter, *Urban Negro*, 38. According to New South historian C. Vann Woodward, "Between 1911 and 1914 the cities of Norfolk, Richmond, Ashland, Roanoke, Winston-Salem, Greensboro, Greenville, Augusta, and Atlanta passed ordinances segregating residential areas, and in 1913 an agitation was started by Clarence Poe of the *Progressive Farmer* for the segregation of farm lands in North Carolina." See Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 355.

This did not mean that segregation did not exist in Raleigh. To the contrary, Carter found in her research that “the resident population [was] sufficiently concentrated and stratified along economic and racial lines to produce segregated areas,” but the lack of municipal legal restrictions did make Raleigh unique.⁵³ Carter found in her oral history interviews with African American residents that,

Black people lived all over Raleigh...geographically the pattern was one of dispersion...I found homes out in areas like Dorothea Dix where there might be one or two families. And in some areas there were three or four black [families] close to a white community or completely by themselves...there was no law which said where you had to live...there was no law that said this is strictly a Negro neighborhood...Many of the Negroes in Raleigh who had their businesses down on Hargett Street were upper middle-class or middle-class and lived anywhere in the city that they wanted to.⁵⁴

However, even without residential segregation on the books in Raleigh, suburban housing developers were keen to restrict access of African Americans and those of the working-class into their exclusive neighborhoods.

The developers of the Cameron Park suburb certainly demonstrated the high value placed on exclusivity with their description of the “social conditions” of the suburb and the restrictive housing covenants placed on the properties. Parker-Hunter Realty used thinly veiled language to suggest in their promotional

⁵³ Carter, *Urban Negro*, 38.

⁵⁴ Wilmoth A. Carter interview as quoted in Simmons-Henry and Edmisten, *Culture Town*, Prologue, xvii-xviii.

Cameron Park brochure that this suburb was intended for white, upper middle-class residents only,

Everyone who is familiar with Raleigh recognizes that Cameron Park enjoys the best social conditions to our city. There are no poor sections. There are no bad approaches. In fact, there is nothing that any one need apologize for in any way. Cameron Park is pre-eminently desirable as a home place for those who wish to put themselves in touch with the best social conditions.⁵⁵

This class restriction was solidified by the real estate company's regulation that "each dwelling shall cost not less than \$3,000.00," which served as a way to filter out potential residents who did not meet the income and social status markers required by life in Cameron Park.⁵⁶ This class restriction certainly limited the ownership of homes and excluded both the working-class and much of the rural migrant population of the city from the possibility of building and owning a home in Cameron Park. There is a racialized and classist rhetoric at work in the language of the Cameron Park brochure. There were "no poor sections" in Cameron Park because restrictions kept lower income families from building and buying houses there. It was a suburb of the "best social conditions" because restrictive housing covenants and housing start minimums were intended to keep both poor people and black people out of Cameron Park.

⁵⁵ *Cameron Park: Its Purpose, Its Attainments, and Its Future Outlook, 1910-1914* (Raleigh, NC: Parker-Hunter Realty, Company, 1914), Forward, 6. The 1914 publication date is the best guess made by the archivists at the State Library of North Carolina. See Government and Heritage Library of the State Library of North Carolina, Search Page, <http://go.dcr.state.nc.us/vwebv/search?searchCode=GKEY&searchType=1&searchArg=OCM08188112> for that date estimate.

⁵⁶ *Cameron Park*, Forward, 8.

Class restrictions were tied to race restrictions in the form of restrictive housing covenants. Restrictive housing covenants involved rules set out by suburban housing developers, which limited what a property owner could do and also what kind of property owner could occupy a residence in a particular suburb. The restrictions were to ensure the future racial stability and exclusivity of the neighborhood so property owners could not sell or rent to African Americans.⁵⁷ In the case of Cameron Park and also across the South and many parts of the nation at this time (and persisting for much of the twentieth century until the renewal of federal civil rights legislation in the 1960s and 1970s), restrictive housing covenants were a means to control the racial makeup of a neighborhood. The Parker-Hunter Realty Company strictly forbade African Americans from Cameron Park when they instituted this policy: "That the premises shall not be occupied by negroes or persons of negro blood; provided, that this shall not be construed to prevent the living upon the premises of any negro who is employed for domestic purposes by the occupants of the dwelling houses on said land."⁵⁸ Working-class blacks, then, did have a place in the

⁵⁷ Covenants in the 1920s were different and even more harsh and restrictive, according to historian Gwendolyn Wright who writes that, "During the 1920s, the restrictive covenant, preventing the sale of property to such groups as Asians, Mexicans, blacks, and Jews, came into widespread use. Deed restrictions covering a parcel or a new subdivision had been common for a century, but the new covenant applied to entire established neighborhoods and extended into perpetuity. When the Supreme Court struck down municipal residential segregation ordinances in 1917, real-estate boards and property owners' associations turned to contractual agreements between individuals, which were not outlawed by the Supreme Court until 1948. In many cities, realtors openly promoted the covenant as a way to ensure that each neighborhood contained only one ethnic group." See Wright, *Building the Dream*, 212.

⁵⁸ Cameron Park, *Forward*, 8.

white, southern suburb, as long as it was in the nursery, the kitchen, the garden shed, or at the back door.

This new “sorting out” process that was taking place within Raleigh’s residential populations is the type of pattern well documented by historian Thomas Hanchett in his study of Charlotte, North Carolina.⁵⁹ Raleigh’s suburban population was being segregated, or sorted, along both racial and class divisions in the first two to three decades of the twentieth century. Hanchett’s study of the urbanization of Charlotte, North Carolina from 1875-1975 provides a useful comparison between Raleigh and Charlotte in the modernizing decade of the 1920s. Hanchett’s research shows that elite, black neighborhoods in Charlotte in the early twentieth century were situated adjacent to elite, white neighborhoods. Hanchett found that “all around the city, black areas could be found adjoining white areas, and prosperous neighborhoods lay next to poor ones...the pattern of the 1920s more resembled a multicolored patchwork quilt.”⁶⁰ Whereas in the post-emancipation period of the nineteenth century southern towns like Raleigh and Charlotte had land use patterns characterized by “salt-and-pepper” neighborhoods mixed by race and class (as seen, for example, in Raleigh’s Smokey Hollow, discussed above), by the 1920s that pattern was replaced with a “patchwork” of distinctive neighborhoods sorted by both class and race (as seen

⁵⁹ Thomas Hanchett, *Sorting Out the New South City: Race, Class, and Urban Development in Charlotte, 1875-1975* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

⁶⁰ Hanchett, *Sorting Out the New South City*, 3.

in the evolving nature of Smokey Hollow's relationship to the new Glenwood-Brooklyn Subdivision)⁶¹ In southern cities racial or class segregation was neither inevitable nor constant from the post-emancipation period up until World War II. According to Hanchett, southern urbanization was unique,

[It] by no means merely mirrored what had happened half a century earlier in the North. The South brought its own heritage to the process. Dixie's particular agricultural economy, its traditions of leadership, and especially its historic division into black and white racial groups conspired to create a unique story. The differences could be seen in myriad issues during the 1880s-1920s, from now-forgotten debates over suburban annexation to the politics of disfranchisement.⁶²

In Charlotte in the 1920s, Hanchett found three types of neighborhoods, those for white, blue-collar workers, those for white, white-collar workers, and those for African Americans came out of this sorting process. Any one might be situated next to another and they "came in all shapes and sizes, each sharp-edged like a piece of fabric cut crisply with a scissor."⁶³ Societal institutions such as churches, hospitals, grocery stores, and public high schools also moved out to the early suburbs (even before the introduction of the automobile). Hanchett found that the move into the suburbs by white, "white-collar Charlotteans made it easier to remain aloof from people below their social strata."⁶⁴

⁶¹ Ibid., 4.

⁶² Ibid., 12.

⁶³ Ibid., 164.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 201.

The close relationship and sharp divisions between Raleigh's suburbs is illustrated in *Map A: Raleigh Suburban Neighborhood Locations* (Figure 2 above). First, we can see Raleigh's earliest suburbs, Mordecai and Oakwood, which were located just to the east and north of the State Capitol, at the center of Raleigh. Second, we can see the formerly "salt-and-pepper" Smokey Hollow of the late nineteenth century which was quickly overwhelmed by white, suburban development as Cameron Park, Glenwood-Brooklyn Subdivision, Boylan Heights, and, later, Hayes Barton and Bloomsbury curbed its growth. But that does not mean that residential segregation was consistently paced, at the same time as residential segregation was taking place in Raleigh "blacks continued to live and work across the city, sharing selected residential blocks with white laborers, craftsmen, and clerks, and occasionally, even white professionals."⁶⁵ Third, the western suburbs of Lincolnville and Method on the map were African American suburbs founded by the post-emancipation generation of blacks in the city looking to offer affordable land which meant land outside the city's limits. West Raleigh's suburban development, for white residents, took place next to the African American-founded suburbs of Method, Lincolnville, and Oberlin.

Changes to Raleigh's residential patterns in the 1920s fit Hanchett's pattern, to a large degree. Raleigh did, indeed, develop what historians Catherine Bisher and Michael T. Southern call a "checkerboard" pattern of side-

⁶⁵ Mattson, "Evolution of Raleigh's African-American Neighborhoods," 34.

by-side black and white suburban development in the 1920s.⁶⁶ However, Bisher and Southern found in their architectural evaluation of Raleigh that although, “late 19th and early 20th-c. growth was accompanied by greater separation of races and classes...until the mid-20th-c., Raleigh retained unusually dispersed patterns.”⁶⁷ Wilmoth Carter’s oral history work on Raleigh also suggests that African Americans did not always reside in strictly black neighborhoods, but, instead could be found throughout the city, but that, too, seemed to change with the introduction of white suburbs into the city during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Carter interviewed a retired African American female school teacher⁶⁸, who talked about growing up in Raleigh,

When it came to where people lived, Negroes and whites bought and lived in the same areas. Wherever they saw land they wanted and could pay for they got it. When our house was built here on West Street most of the other side was vacant and nothing but swamp land filled with trees. For miles away we could see nothing but trees. All this property has been built in here since we have been here, and all of our early neighbors were white. As late as 1899 whites were still living in here. This has become a thick Negro area in more recent years.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Bisher and Southern, *Historic Architecture of Piedmont North Carolina*, 106.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 105.

⁶⁸ None of the personal interview participants, in Wilmoth Carter’s study, were identified by name. Instead, to protect their identities, these individuals were identified by their occupation, gender, and race only. This method would have helped to conceal participants from any retaliation for details revealed about individuals or the city of Raleigh that might be considered controversial. See Carter, *Urban Negro*.

⁶⁹ Carter, *Urban Negro*, 147.

This school teacher saw a shift in her neighborhood from a black and white community to a strictly African American one over the course of the first few decades of the twentieth century. Another African American woman, interviewed by Carter, told her that,

Negroes used to be able to buy or rent anywhere until whites rooted them out...Negroes used to own a lot of property all over but many of them sold when whites offered them fancy prices for it. I remember when the property in Hayes Barton-Glenwood section was \$5.00 an acre. We were born and reared right out there on Tucker Street. My father was a Tucker and the first to buy and live there. He used to say that some day that would be the most exclusive section in town and the richest, and sure enough he was right.⁷⁰

Mr. Tucker correctly predicted the racial and class shift that would take place as cheap land on the outskirts of Raleigh was purchased for the development of the Hayes Barton and Glenwood suburbs, intended for middle-class whites to build and own.

Not only were suburban developers interested in “sorting out” the neighborhoods by race and class, but the Woman’s Club of Raleigh was also concerned about the fate of the city. Between 1912 and 1913, the Woman’s Club funded a publication commissioned from famed city planner, Charles Mulford Robinson, called *A City Plan for Raleigh*.⁷¹ The report was divided into

⁷⁰ Ibid., 147-148.

⁷¹ *A City Plan for Raleigh* was initiated by the President of the Woman’s Club of Raleigh, Daisy Denson. The plan was a way for the members of the club to bring the City Beautiful Movement to Raleigh. “City Beautiful” was a loosely organized urban planning movement in the late nineteenth through early twentieth-centuries by Americans who wished to replicate the

two parts, “The Improvement of the City That Is,” which focused on the existing downtown commercial and residential districts as well as older suburbs and, “The Preparation for the City That Will Be,” which examined future urban and suburban development of Raleigh and its place in North Carolina. The focus of the publication was in finding a balance between modernizing technologies, such as telephone lines, and maintaining Raleigh’s beauty as a “residence city.”

Robinson recognized conflicts over race and class in the conclusion of his study of Raleigh, which discussed suburban development within old Raleigh and just outside the city’s expanding limits. For the majority of his discussion of suburban Raleigh, Robinson limited himself to established, white, subdivisions such as Cameron Park, Hayes Barton, and the Glenwood neighborhoods. However, at the end of *A City Plan for Raleigh* is a warning about the consequences for municipal officials over not regulating and controlling working-class development in both white and African American suburbs surrounding Raleigh. Robinson referenced the Pilot Cotton Mills mill village and the post-Reconstruction African American settlement of Oberlin at the end of his report and he both chided city leaders for neglect and warned against possible threats from these populations,

beauty of the White City at the 1893 Chicago World Columbian Exposition. Adherents of the movement admired the beauty, cleanliness, and orderliness of the White City and sought to apply those principles to modern urban development. See David R. Goldfield “North Carolina’s Early Twentieth Century Suburbs and the Urbanizing South,” in *Early Twentieth Century Suburbs in North Carolina: Essays on History, Architecture, and Planning*, eds. Catherine W. Bisher and Lawrence S. Earley, (Raleigh, NC: Archaeology and Historic Preservation Section, Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1985), 10-12.

The destiny of these suburban communities is to become urban as the expanding Raleigh includes them. There is danger lest in their present condition they become festering sores, sources of contagion and objects of large expense when at last the city must take them under its charge. I do not know how they can be controlled by the municipality pending inclusion in its boundaries; but I suppose the State Board of Health can exert authority, and the social and humanitarian interest of public-spirited citizens could probably do more...these little communities...may be a threat as well as a promise.⁷²

The image of the “residence city” promoted by suburban developers, city officials, and citizen groups such as the Woman’s Club of Raleigh was constructed to counter the “danger” and “contagion” of the growth of lower income and African American populations. The “residence city” was a powerful symbol about modernity and entrepreneurship. At the same time, however, Robinson’s racist and classist rhetoric pits the “festering sores” of lower income and African American populations against the salve of a “residence city” made of safe, enclaves, of white, middle-class, single-family homes.

Conclusion

Housing was a key component in constructing modernity in the eyes of visitors and would-be residents in the city. Traditional multi-family housing forms, such as the apartment hotel and boarding house, had provided important housing solutions for transient and temporary residents in Raleigh in the late nineteenth century and into the first three decades of the twentieth. However,

⁷² Charles Mulford Robinson, *A City Plan for Raleigh* (Raleigh, NC: Woman’s Club of Raleigh, 1913), 97.

these traditional forms were eventually eclipsed by new housing options, which played a practical role in modernizing Raleigh. Apartments located in suburban neighborhoods such as Cameron Park and Glenwood were attractive because white, middle-class, professional tenants and homeowners did not have to worry about sharing living space with people who did not share economic, social, and racial characteristics with them. These new housing options were located in neighborhoods “sorted” for income and race.

The resilience of Raleigh’s suburban neighborhoods over the course of the twentieth century give historians a window through which to observe the patterns of gender, race, and socio-economic status of the reinvented city. The development of suburban neighborhoods was a modern solution for the rising, southern, middle-class looking for racial and socio-economic exclusivity outside of the city center. The architecture of those early twentieth century apartment buildings as well as converted homes allows us to take historian Thomas Hanchett’s advice to use the built landscape to understand how “people build their values into architecture.”⁷³

⁷³ Thomas Hanchett, “Building Apart/Building Together: Modernizing the Carolina Piedmont, 1900-2000,” (paper presented at Plenary Session One, Southeast Chapter Society of Architectural Historians Annual Meeting, Greensboro, NC, October 2, 2008).

CHAPTER III

“LET NO ONE BE A STRANGER BUT ONCE”: THE “SUBURBAN IDEAL” VERSUS THE SUBURBAN REALITY, LIFESTYLE PATTERNS OF RALEIGH’S SINGLE-FAMILY HOMEOWNERS AND APARTMENT RESIDENTS

Introduction

In 1914, the Parker-Hunter Realty Company published a thirty-page promotional brochure entitled *Cameron Park: Its Purpose, Its Attainments and Its Future Outlook, 1910-1914*. The brochure traced the development of the exclusive Cameron Park suburb, which was built just outside the city limits and completed by 1914. Cameron Park was designed, like many planned developments of the time, to be composed of single-family dwellings built for middle-class residents. As conceived by developers, V. O. Parker and Carey J. Hunter, Cameron Park was intended to be an enclave of wealth and whiteness. A major thrust of the brochure was to provide readers with a rationalization of home ownership as opposed to renting. In the section entitled, “Why Men Need Homes,” Parker and Hunter used gendered language to link home ownership to manhood,

The best results of home life...come only to him who owns his home. He must be master of at least one place on earth to have the sure courage that is necessary to hold in the heavy sea. If at some critical period in his business or social career he should be compelled to move his home the results would be damaging. He might survive the consequences, but then he might not.¹

In the view of Parker-Hunter Realty, not only was one's masculinity on the line over home ownership, but one's very life and livelihood could be at stake. No matter what the threat, however, it could be combatted through home ownership. In defining this masculine independence, Parker and Hunter used the paternalistic language of the antebellum South when they argued that the renter was "mastered" by the landlord while the homeowner was "master" of himself; "The man who rents is subject to his [the landlord's] orders in the conduct of the property. It is this master spirit that demands ownership, and ownership in turn promotes the independent spirit which differentiates between leadership and followers among men."²

As North Carolina architectural historian Charlotte V. Brown argues about the Cameron Park promotional materials, it "equated home ownership with white middle-class identification and traditional morality," and these suburban single-family homes, across the state, "contributed considerably to the appearance of every town and city and to the appearance of white prosperity."³ Sociologist and

¹ *Cameron Park, Why Men Need Homes*, 10

² *Cameron Park, Landlord or Tenant*, 14.

³ Charlotte Brown uses the name Hunter-Parker Realty Company to describe the real estate firm owned by V. O. Parker and Carey J. Hunter who built the Cameron Park suburb. I use

oral historian, Wilmoth A. Carter, found this homogeneity to be the case in North Carolina decades before Brown's work. Carter wrote in her 1961 study of Raleigh that the "internal distribution of the population along similar lines in cities has made city after city within the state appear as replicas of each other. Business centralization, high residential concentration, and non-industrialization have been among the earmarks of [North Carolina] cities."⁴

Just a year prior to the publication of the Cameron Park brochure, a 1913 "Story of Raleigh" summarized Raleigh's accomplishments during the first few years of the new century. In this booklet explaining the benefits of moving to the capital, city boosters argued that Raleigh was special, just like the Cameron Park developers would go on to argue. The advantage to living in Raleigh was "as an office center from which to conduct business in one of the most prosperous States in the South; as a place for the *investor and developer*, the *home-seeker*, the merchant and the business world generally."⁵ These Raleigh advocates painted a portrait of the city which embodied the town's motto "Let no one be a stranger but once," as they touted the numerous advantages to visitors they

the name Parker-Hunter Realty in this project as that was the designation used in advertisements placed by the company in the *Raleigh News and Observer* newspaper classified section and in the promotional brochure entitled *Cameron Park: Its Purpose, Its Attainments, and Its Future Outlook, 1910-1914* (Raleigh, NC: Parker-Hunter Realty, Company, 1914). See Charlotte V. Brown, "The Day of the Great Cities: The Professionalization of Building, 1900-1945," in *Architects and Builders in North Carolina: A History of the Practice of Building*, by Catherine W. Bisher, Charlotte V. Brown, Carl R. Lounsbury, and Ernest H. Wood III (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 304.

⁴ Carter, *Urban Negro*, 33.

⁵ *Story of Raleigh, Capital City of North Carolina* (Raleigh, NC: C. E. Weaver, 1913), 1.

hoped might rapidly evolve into permanent residents and investors who might build industry and housing developments.⁶ The dual focus of these two publications was in advocating a “suburban ideal” based on single-family home ownership in suburban developments catering to the white, professional, middle-class. They emphasized the importance of the financial contributions of business developers while at the same time describing the city and her suburbs as places for “homeowners” and “home-seekers.” But, the “suburban ideal” of single-family homes in the suburbs conflicts with the reality of both how single-family houses were used as multi-family living spaces and with the demographic data on renters in Raleigh. The symbolic image of the single-family home and of the suburbs as an enclave of white, middle-class prosperity contrasts with the practical uses of suburban neighborhoods and homes. Using city directory data on renters and classified advertisements about apartments within single-family homes, we can trace suburban lifestyle patterns including the presence of adult children in the household (as opposed to only nuclear families), the reality of the modern occupations of women in two-income households (as opposed to the stereotype of a male bread winner and a domestic wife), the use of new technology and amenities to attract renters to the suburbs, and the incorporation of non-family members into single-family households as renters.

⁶ *Story of Raleigh*, 1.

Defining the “Suburban Ideal”

In an important article summarizing the historiographical trends in suburban and urban history in Canada and the United States, historian Mary Corbin Sies provides a very useful framework for understanding the “suburban ideal” advocated by developers like Parker and Hunter, social scientists, architects, and advice manual writers that helped to cement the “appearance of white prosperity” identified by Charlotte V. Brown. In this suburban ideal the community should be populated by single-family, detached houses nestled amongst tree-lined streets with appropriately landscaped yards and plantings. Neighborhoods in the suburbs should be clearly bounded so that it is easy to see the separation between the middle-class suburb and the urban core filled with working-class, African American, and immigrant communities. Houses should be efficient, beautiful, technologically advanced, and reflective of a consumption-oriented lifestyle. Sies writes that the suburban ideal provided a “consensus about how middle-class North Americans might best organize their households and about the style of living to which hardworking families might aspire.”⁷ Families living in single-family suburban homes were to be models of behavior and conspicuous consumption for those who might one day save enough pennies to own a home in an exclusive neighborhood as well.

The suburban ideal, Sies argues, was “codified, packaged, and sold” to the public through the work of design professionals, developers,

⁷ Mary Corbin Sies, “North American Suburbs, 1880-1950: Cultural and Social Reconsiderations,” *Journal of Urban History* 27, no. 3 (March 2001): 329-330.

builders/contractors, and realtors who helped to build suburban developments. Social activists, clubwomen, and educators during the Progressive Era saw the suburbs as a “solution to social problems” and their advice was seen in mass circulation magazines like *House Beautiful* and the *Ladies Home Journal*. Utility companies, looking to expand their services out of the city center, used marketing campaigns touting the advantages of suburban life. Life and fire insurance companies based safety standards for policies on suburban lifestyles. Loan institutions and government programs promoted home ownership in single-family house communities. When writing about the popularity of the suburban ideal, Sies maintains that “[it] was a set of cultural forms fashioned by a social class to serve its own needs, pleasures, and interests as a group. It functioned as an ideology, in other words; it represented a historically specific set of built forms and values as the best universal approach to the housing needs of the citizenry.”⁸ The suburban ideal, however, is not in accordance with the research done by Sies or the image of Raleigh that emerges out of the demographic and local history work done in this dissertation.

But why was suburban living so appealing to residents and housing professionals? And how did apartment living become just as important in the suburbs as single-family dwellings were in the various developments built in and around Raleigh? Scholar David R. Goldfield has suggested a variety of reasons for the predominance of the “suburban idyll” in the Carolina countryside.

⁸ Sies, “North American Suburbs,” 329.

Goldfield points out that New South boosters and entrepreneurs investing in the South often had their hands in a multitude of pies. One particular businessman, for example, might work establishing new businesses, private charities, and civic organizations, as well as architectural schemes as a way to improve the community and line his own pockets with profit. Josephus Daniels of Raleigh, for example, owned and operated the primary city newspaper (and the one used in this study), *The News and Observer*, and also developed streetcar suburbs outside the city beginning in the 1890s.⁹ Carey J. Hunter, one of the developers of Cameron Park, was a director of the Commercial National Bank, the Mechanics Bank, the Caraleigh Cotton Mills, the Capudine Chemical Company, and the Melrose Knitting Mills. At the same time, he was also president of the Parker-Hunter Realty Company, the Biblical Recorder Publishing Company, and the Mutual Publishing Company. Hunter's business partner in the Cameron Park project, V.O. Parker, was the secretary, treasurer, and manager of the Parker-

⁹ It should be noted that Josephus Daniels used *The News and Observer* as the mouthpiece of the white supremacy campaign in North Carolina in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries. According to historian LeRae Umfleet, Daniels himself "acknowledged that he helped to fuel a 'reign of terror' by printing sometimes unsubstantiated stories written so as to instill fear and anger in readers." The editorials, political cartoons, and erroneous news stories printed in Daniels' paper led directly to the hostility and violence which fueled the 1898 Wilmington Race Riot in North Carolina. That white supremacist-led movement saw the use of violence against African Americans throughout the state, but especially in Wilmington, and to disfranchisement as white Democrats negatively reacted to the attempted Fusion coalition of African American Republicans with white Populists. The Fusion coalition sought to gain political control of the state government and secure freedoms for workers and farmers of both races. Daniels' political views are directly related to the absence of African American apartment life in the newspaper classifieds. African American boarding houses, The Fincher apartment house, and houses in single-family homes owned by African Americans were not advertised in *The News and Observer*. Either the paper had an outright ban on including them or African American residents chose by virtue of custom to avoid using that outlet for marketing rental spaces. See LeRae Sikes Umfleet, *A Day of Blood: The 1898 Wilmington Race Riot* (Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Office of Archives and History, 2009), 22-23, 52.

Hunter Realty Company while serving on several important Chamber of Commerce committees.¹⁰ Other developers in North Carolina worked in tobacco, textiles, banking, utilities, transportation, and commerce that enabled them “to create an attractive suburban neighborhood and to service it with transportation and utilities.”¹¹

Goldfield argues that technology made it both possible and desirable for middle-class and elite white Southerners to leave city life behind for suburban residences. Automobiles and streetcars, for example, made it possible for Raleighites to easily flow between town and country for work and home life. In fact, proximity to the streetcar line was oftentimes a condition held by potential tenants, as this 1922 classified listing in the *News and Observer* newspaper suggests, "WANTED: AN APARTMENT OF 3 rooms and kitchenette unfurnished or furnished. Refined family of two, no children. *No objection to suburbs if near car line.* References exchanged. Address L-701, care News and Observer."¹² As long as this particular apartment was near to the streetcar, its suburban location was not viewed as an obstacle to renting.

Historian Thomas J. Schlereth has also studied the “push” and “pull” factors leading to creation of and migration to a suburban life. Schlereth argues

¹⁰ Adolph Oettinger Goodwin, “Who’s Who In Raleigh: A Collection of Personal Cartoons and Biographical Sketches of the Staunch ‘Trees’ That Make the ‘Oak City,’” (Raleigh, NC: Commercial Printing Company, 1916).

¹¹ Smith, “The American Idyll,” 24.

¹² Classifieds, *News and Observer*, February 26, 1922.

that some Americans saw the suburb as an escape from the “complexity of urban life” or the chance for home ownership. It was only with the advent of the streetcar that it became affordable for working-class Americans to move out of central cities and to embrace the “pastoral ideal” promised by suburban living.¹³ But at the same time, these technologies came at a price, argues David Goldfield, “Noise, congestion, pollution, and the expansion of commercial land uses enhanced the value of central business-district property, yet devalued its residential use.”¹⁴ Curving streets, trees, large yards, and residential parks made suburbs stand out from the grid-pattern of the formally planned city environment. It was this landscaped artifice that attracted many residents to suburban life because it was a perfect compromise between enjoying the benefits of work and entertainment to be had in the city center (made possible with streetcar and later automobile thoroughfares) and country respite in a suburban neighborhood with “natural” green spaces such as parks and tree-lined walkways.

Finally, David Goldfield argues that the shift from urban to suburban living in North Carolina was the result of an important transfer of political power in cities. The disfranchisement of African Americans and many poor whites in the state in the early twentieth century meant that city planners and elected officials no longer had to support measures which benefitted those groups because they

¹³ Thomas J. Schlereth, *Victorian America: Transformations in Everyday Life, 1876-1915* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1992), 18.

¹⁴ Goldfield, “North Carolina’s Early Twentieth Century Suburbs,” 14.

had effectively been removed from the electorate.¹⁵ Suburban development then became an important personal and economic project for wealthy, white, male, city entrepreneurs. This “suburban ideal” described by Charlotte Brown, David Goldfield, and Thomas Schlereth offered whites respite from the hustle and bustle of city life, protection from the perceived threat of newly-mobile African Americans, the encroachment of city space by rural migrants, and nostalgia for the past.¹⁶ According to historian David Goldfield, “With the movement of people and capital to the suburbs, far-seeing entrepreneurs appreciated the value of planned and protected neighborhoods. Since many residents of southern cities were rarely more than a generation removed, if that, from the countryside, the village ideal was appealing.”¹⁷ In the urban South through the disfranchisement of blacks and poor whites, city planning in Raleigh and other Carolina cities became increasingly focused on the concerns and desires of white citizens. White city planners wanted suburbs built outside the city for middle-class and elite families while city services were restricted to impoverished black and white

¹⁵ Ibid., 15.

¹⁶ Most of the movement into southern cities was sparked by internal migration. According to historian Blaine A. Brownell, “Urban migration in the South, unlike that in the North and Midwest, was principally from within the region, mostly of native-born southerners who had previously lived in rural areas and small towns. Rarely did the number of foreign-born residents exceed 10 percent of the population of any southern city. In addition, southern urban areas contained comparatively greater numbers of blacks than cities elsewhere in the country.” See Brownell, *Urban Ethos in the South*, 7.

¹⁷ Goldfield, “North Carolina’s Early Twentieth Century Suburbs,” 14.

neighborhoods as those groups were no longer a significant political constituency.¹⁸

Although African American residents were largely excluded from city planning decisions in Raleigh once they became disenfranchised, black suburban neighborhoods *did* appear in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Raleigh. David R. Goldfield writes, “Blacks, too, had their suburban neighborhood schemes, though without the luster of nationally renowned planners or the guarantee that a full array of urban services would enhance and sustain their suburban lifestyles.”¹⁹ Whereas in northern cities African American urban development was typified by ghettos, that was not the case in the South. According to Goldfield,

In southern cities...there were clusters of black residential areas on the city periphery, in low-lying areas, interspersed with white working-class districts, and even cheek-by-jowl with residences of the wealthy. These typical black neighborhood patterns represented legacies from the era of urban slavery as well as post-bellum migration of blacks to cities, especially to peripheral neighborhoods ringing the cities. The architecture and service levels both reflected the rural and racial backgrounds of the residents.²⁰

In North Carolina and in Raleigh, black suburbs for middle-class and elite African Americans oftentimes shared land space with the historically black colleges

¹⁸ Ibid., 14-15.

¹⁹ Ibid, 18.

²⁰ Ibid.

founded during Reconstruction such as Shaw and Saint Augustine's. In Raleigh both working-class and middle-class African American suburbs sprang up in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including Lincolnville, Method, Oberlin, Idlewild, and College Park.

Class and Race in the New South Suburb: Building Raleigh's Cameron Park, Boylan Heights, and Glenwood-Brooklyn Neighborhoods

The first two decades of the twentieth century saw changes in the housing and business needs and preferences of both residents and migrants into Raleigh. Two major nineteenth century plantation tracts—Boylan Plantation and Cameron Plantation—were subdivided, sold, and developed into residential suburbs. Boylan Heights was a community which departed from Raleigh's architectural past by deviating from the town's early grid pattern with curvilinear streets and by building to suit the natural topography rather than landscaping the lots to fit a past aesthetic. Cameron Park, intended to be much more exclusive, was developed by the Parker-Hunter Realty Company and made a concerted effort to create an artificial "neighborhood" through the inclusion of parks and trees sprinkled throughout the housing. The Glenwood development absorbed the already existing working-class Brooklyn neighborhood to create a larger subdivision with housing opportunities for blue-collar and white-collar whites in Raleigh. As historian Marc A. Weiss has shown in his research on the American real estate industry, "subdividing land exclusively for residential purposes presupposed a level of planning and control that was certainly not the norm for

American urbanization.”²¹ Breaking apart formerly privately owned family lands and selling them to the public was a radical departure for Raleigh’s housing practice. Suburban developments were a modern housing scheme in 1920’s Raleigh because of how radically they differed from the city center, which was a series of planned squares and mixed-use residential and business neighborhoods, and how they catered to specific demographics of employment and race.

Multiple interested parties influenced the development of American subdivisions including real estate entrepreneurs, construction companies, Progressive reformers, social theorists, city planners, and concerned citizens, who all had a stake in the choices made for their particular communities. In Raleigh, The Parker-Hunter Realty Company was an important financial house which employed real estate entrepreneurs eager to develop both urban and suburban properties in and around the city. According to a 1910 Raleigh Chamber of Commerce publication, the *Raleigh Illustrated*, company founder V.O. Parker had “succeeded in placing the Parker-Hunter Realty Company in the front rank of real estate and insurance circles of the State.”²² The company rose

²¹ Marc A. Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders: The American Real Estate Industry and Urban Land Planning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 1-2.

²² “Raleigh Illustrated: Raleigh, North Carolina, containing a comprehensive review of the natural advantages and resources of Raleigh...together with historical reviews of those representative concerns and biographical sketches of prominent men who have materially assisted in placing this community in high position,” (Raleigh, NC: The Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 1910), 46, Elizabeth Reid Murray Collection, Box 249 “Housing Developments and Developers #4,” 2004.013, Folder “Realty/Developers,” (Raleigh, NC: Olivia Raney Local History Library).

to prominence through a customer-first philosophy which was “simply a matter of letting people know that we are prepared to take good care of them.”²³ Parker, and his partner Carey J. Hunter, were both native North Carolinians. Parker was born on a farm four miles outside of Raleigh and Hunter was born in Apex, North Carolina, both located in the county of Wake.²⁴ The development of Cameron Park was not based on financing or leadership from outside the New South but evolved directly from the hands of Carolina entrepreneurs.

As early as 1911 the General Assembly of North Carolina had enacted legislation to allow for the construction of Raleigh’s first subdivisions. Housing was an explicit part of this policy. In “An Act to Provide for the Registration of Plats and Subdivisions,” lawmakers allowed “any person, firm, or corporation, owning land in this State, who may desire to subdivide the same into smaller tracts of lots for the purpose of sale or other purpose” to have “a plat or subdivision of such land recorded in the office of the register of deeds” in the county.²⁵ This legislation opened up legal channels for real estate companies, like Parker-Hunter Realty Company, to divide up land tracts, auction off lots, and supervise suburban single-family home construction.

²³ *Raleigh Ten Years’ Record 1900-1910*, (Raleigh, NC: Parker-Hunter Realty Company, 1910), 5.

²⁴ Goodwin, “Who’s Who In Raleigh.”

²⁵ North Carolina Public Laws, “An Act to Provide for the Registration of Plats and Subdivisions,” (Raleigh, NC, 1911), Chapter 55, page 193.

The crowning achievement of the company's real estate speculation was the development of the Cameron Park suburb on farmland located northwest of Raleigh. President Cary J. Hunter and Secretary-Treasurer V.O. Parker were proud of Cameron Park and were "determined that it shall be purely high class," and they had "high ideals" for its prospects."²⁶ Parker and Hunter controlled the purchase of the land, the construction of the housing, and the auction of lots. They were not just capital investors but suburban entrepreneurs as well. They were involved in almost every aspect of Cameron Park's development and tried to shape the income levels, neighborhood densities, and racial makeup of the subdivision through high, minimum lot prices, barring anyone but the very well off from buying and building in Cameron Park, and restrictive housing covenants, barring sale or rental to African Americans. Parker and Hunter promised:

There will be no rapid-fire auction sales, such as would permit the lots to get into undesirable hands. The property will be sold privately and to people of known character and standing. There are already more "cheap" lots on the market than can be assimilated, but first class lots are always scarce and held at a premium. This property seems to have been preserved for a most delightful and charming home section and the owners are determined to leave nothing undone to develop along these lines, and Raleigh people are to be congratulated on having the present opportunity to build homes in this attractive neighborhood.²⁷

Suburban developers relied on brochures and prospectuses pointing out special conveniences, localities, supplies, or construction that separated their

²⁶ *Raleigh Ten Years' Record 1900-1910*, 14.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

subdivision from any other in the city. The 1914 Parker-Hunter Realty Company publication of “Cameron Park: Its Purpose, Its Attainments And Its Future Outlook, 1910-1914” is a good example of the emphasis placed on living in “the most exclusive neighborhood.” The brochure provided moral instruction about the values of family, home ownership, refinement, and exclusivity that could be had by living in a suburb. The company’s promotional materials crafted Raleigh’s version of a “suburban ideal” where neighborhoods were restricted by income, occupation, and race.

Urban planners and city officials advocated the idea that the single-family, suburban house could become *the* symbol for a modern Raleigh, as booster literature, like the 1913 *Raleigh Illustrated*, and promotional materials for suburban developments, such as the *Cameron Park* brochure, both indicate. The Cameron Park brochure served a variety of purposes for city leaders, suburban developers, and residents of Raleigh. First, by featuring photographs of single-family homes owned by prominent Raleigh citizens, it served as a public declaration of the prominence, importance, and power of families who built homes there. Second, those photographs helped to promote the idea that the single-family house was the modern choice for residents. Third, through a series of short articles, the brochure educated readers about the history of the site, the modern amenities it offered, and the conditions for residency. And finally, the brochure provided moral instruction about the values of family, home ownership, refinement, and exclusivity.

The developers of Cameron Park viewed their suburb as both a part of Raleigh and also as a separate city within a city. They boasted of “the creation of a new city within the ancient one of Raleigh...most ancient and at the same time most modern of ideals.”²⁸ They emphasized the suburb as a “natural” development in the history of population growth in Raleigh rather than acknowledge the inherent artificiality of such living spaces, “The very beauty of the site, its distant prospects, its physical relation to the city of Raleigh, its multitude of possibilities encompassed every imaginable desire of the homeloving heart, and its growth, into what it is today, was but the natural result.”²⁹ While remaining a part of Raleigh, the Cameron Park suburb, was different, improved, better than the original model provided by the Capital, “The NEW RALEIGH at CAMERON PARK is no experiment. It is a beautiful and well established community of fine residences, owned and occupied by persons well known and prominent in the professional and business circles of Raleigh and vicinity.”³⁰ From the perspective of suburban real estate developers, the suburb was for home ownership and not for renting,

The opportunities of purchasers in any suburban section are always greater than is possible in the crowded parts of the City. The open air, the abundant sunshine, freedom from dust and noise, all make suburban life attractive.³¹

²⁸ *Cameron Park*, Forward, 2.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, *Embellishing Nature*, 10.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Forward, 4.

A modern professional in Raleigh was a homebuilder and a homeowner and not a renter situated in a multi-family housing option.

From the perspective of suburban real estate developers, the suburb was the best of both worlds, as it combined pastoral beauty with urban benefits. Residents of Cameron Park could steadily rely on “complete water and sewer systems,” “concrete side walks,” “sand-clayed roads,” “free city mail delivery,” and retail parcel delivery “without extra charge.”³² According to the real estate company, Cameron Park provided opportunities “not found in the usual suburban property.”³³ In addition to the benefits mentioned above, residents could also expect gas and electricity at city or “up-town” prices, fifteen-minute streetcar service along Hillsboro street, water and sewer service linked to the city’s main lines, fire hydrants every five hundred feet, twenty acres of parks nestled within the neighborhood, mandatory lawns for each home (homes were required to be set back at least twenty feet from the property line), and wide streets lined with shade trees (“set in native trees, such as ash, elm, beech, oak and maple”).³⁴

Suburban development corresponded to the movement of money and people out of the city center, and neighborhood developers “appreciated the

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ The modern day spelling of this street in Raleigh is “Hillsborough.” However, in the 1920s, as per evidence in the city directories and newspaper, the street was spelled “Hillsboro.” I have chosen to use the 1920s spelling throughout this dissertation, unless referencing the modern thoroughfare. For the original maps in this dissertation, however, the current spelling is used because they are based on current City of Raleigh G.I.S. data. See *Cameron Park*, Forward, 6.

value of planned and protected neighborhoods.”³⁵ In a section entitled “Embellishing Nature,” the Cameron Park developers exalted this marriage between the modernity of the suburb with the tranquility of nature,

While, to all intents and purposes, within the physical limits of Raleigh, CAMERON PARK possesses all of the advantages of a remote Summer retreat, the land is high and charmingly diversified. There are LEVEL MEADOWS, WOODED HILLSIDES, SHADY VALLEYS through which run natural brooks, and from many points of the estate may be had WIDE VIEWS of the surrounding country...the developers of the enterprise have gone Nature one better and have installed a modern SEWERAGE SYSTEM, along with a WATER SYSTEM, GAS, and ELECTRICITY. One cannot get these necessities in remote rural districts, but here, within ten minutes of the business center of Raleigh, on the car line and on the telephone line, you may have the conveniences and advantages of both country and city combined.³⁶

As North Carolina researcher Margaret Supplee Smith has suggested, suburban life was a compromise, “Ideally green and spacious and nurturing for the American family, the suburb evoked rural associations yet was within convenient commuting distance to the city.”³⁷ This tension between city and countryside within the suburb is evident in sometimes conflicting restrictions on community development. For example, in Cameron Park it was illegal for residents to keep pigs or hogs, but they could build barns, stables, or out-houses on their lots.³⁸

³⁵ Goldfield, “North Carolina’s Early Twentieth Century Suburbs,” 14.

³⁶ *Cameron Park, Embellishing Nature*, 10.

³⁷ Smith, “The American Idyll,” 21.

³⁸ *Cameron Park, Forward*, 8. Presumably these outhouses would be constructed for servants or workers of some type as the developers went to great lengths to highlight access to

Historian Charlotte Brown has used case studies of three Raleigh suburbs—Cameron Park, Boylan Heights, and Glenwood-Brooklyn—to argue for architectural changes in single-family homes and limited lot sizes in suburbs. She has found links between these changes and the modernization of the city. As Brown argues, “Families no longer needed large building lots; outbuildings were now much more limited in number because of utilities. People could confine all activity to a single dwelling and still have a yard and garden on a small plot.”³⁹ Thus the neighborhood covenants restricting housing and lot size in these developments influenced the type of resident who chose to build and live there. According to Brown, “The emerging lower-middle and middle-classes who bought these houses sought security and status, needs directly related to the changing social and racial structure of the city and state.”⁴⁰ These restrictive covenants that prevented African Americans from moving into these neighborhoods did not prevent many of these suburban families from employing black domestic servants who could be seen entering and exiting the neighborhood on a daily basis. As Brown so eloquently puts it, “The inhabitants of [city suburbs] lived as they believed Raleigh to be—a residential city of beauty and elegance, spaciousness and trees, and above all respectability, white respectability.”⁴¹

running water and modern sewage systems which each newly built house could hook up to as it was built in the neighborhood.

³⁹ Brown, “Three Raleigh Suburbs,” 35.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid., 36.

Cameron Park's creation is one of the first times that we can see residential Raleigh's fragmentation by race and class. Coupled with the Glenwood subdivision in 1905 and Boylan Heights in 1907, Cameron Park encouraged the movement of middle-class residents out of the city core and into the suburbs. Cameron Park differed from the other two in that it was always intended for only upper middle-class residents whereas Glenwood and Boylan Heights had properties available to both lower-middle-class and middle-class residents. Glenwood and Boylan Heights had a more diverse population because the developers offered houses of different sizes and in different price ranges. Parker and Hunter intended Cameron Park to include only the highest classes of residents, and they "openly recruited socially ambitious upper middle-class residents to the neighborhood, and parcel prices and minimum house values were significantly higher than those of Glenwood-Brooklyn or Boylan Heights."⁴² Additionally, as Charlotte V. Brown argues, "its developers undertook an intensive advertising campaign in which they made an elaborate appeal to the desires of the upper middle-class of Raleigh for beauty, security and social status."⁴³

While the Cameron Park subdivision had been carved out of the former Cameron plantation lands, the Boylan Heights suburb, developed between 1907

⁴² Raleigh Historic Development Commission, "Cameron Park Historic District," <http://www.rhdc.org/cameron-park-historic-district>, (accessed August 26, 2012).

⁴³ Charlotte V. Brown, "The Cameron Park Neighborhood," in Harris et al., *Early Raleigh Neighborhoods*, 40.

through the 1920s, was created out of one hundred wooded acres on the William Montford Boylan estate. The huge land parcel was sold to a land syndicate known as the Greater Raleigh Land Company who bought Boylan for \$48,000 in 1907.⁴⁴ Boylan Heights was intended for upper middle-class and, also, middle-class residents, as the most expensive house prices were \$2,500 (\$500 less expensive than the minimum price for Cameron Park). Boylan Heights was home to numerous white-collar businessmen such as Frank M. Jolly, a jeweler and Abraham Kaplan, a dairy operator, but on smaller, side streets of the development, such as Cutler Street lived painters, barbers, clerks, plumbers, bookkeepers, salesmen, accountants, cashiers, carpenters, grocers, and tanners.⁴⁵

The Glenwood-Brooklyn subdivision was developed between 1907 and 1951. It was a streetcar suburb intended for a mix of working-class and middle-class whites. Most residents were government employees, small business owners, salespeople, railroad employees, or power company workers. The development was bisected with a streetcar line that ran north from downtown along Glenwood Avenue. Although the streetcar tracks have, in most parts of the

⁴⁴ The Greater Raleigh Land Company was incorporated in 1908 with a capital stock of \$55,000. The President of the company, F. K. Ellington, was also president of the Raleigh Insurance and Realty Company and the Raleigh Real Estate and Trust Company and a member of the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The Vice President of the company, H.E. Litchford, was a cashier of the Citizens National Bank while the Secretary-Treasurer, J. D. Turner, was also Secretary-Treasurer of the Raleigh Real Estate and Trust Company. See *Raleigh Illustrated*, 21, Elizabeth Reid Murray Collection.

⁴⁵ "Boylan Heights National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form," <http://www.rhdc.org/preservation-services/local-historic-landmark-and-district-designation/raleigh-historic-districts/boylan-heights> (accessed August 20, 2011).

city, long been buried under road construction, a single, original, trolley stop shelter remains on Glenwood Avenue today, as seen in Figure 3 below. The strategic placement of the streetcar route through Glenwood-Brooklyn was no accident as the development was built by the Glenwood Land Company made up of James H. Pou, an investor in the Raleigh Electric Company and the Carolina Power & Light Company, along with Albert Murray and William J. Andrew. The Brooklyn neighborhood already existed next to Glenwood land so the name Glenwood-Brooklyn came to be applied to area. As with both Cameron Park and Boylan Heights, restrictive deed covenants prohibited the sale of lots to African Americans, and the minimum house cost of \$1,500 ensured that Raleigh's poor whites would not be able to live in Glenwood, which resulted in a neighborhood made up primarily of blue-collar and lower middle-class workers.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ "Glenwood-Brooklyn National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form," <http://www.rhdc.org/cameron-park-historic-district> (accessed August 20, 2011).



Figure 3. Trolley Stop Shelter on Glenwood Avenue. Note the period Italianate architecture including the original terra cotta tile roof, stone construction, and bracketed eaves. Photograph taken by the author on July 22, 2012.

Vernacular Biographies in Town and Suburb: Residents in Raleigh's Apartment Housing Market

It is easy to have stereotypes about the American suburb. As historian Dolores Hayden has written, "More Americans reside in suburban landscapes than in inner cities and rural areas combined, yet few can decode the shapes of these landscapes or define where they begin and end."⁴⁷ Many of us grew up

⁴⁷ Dolores Hayden, *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820-2000* (New York: Vintage Books, 2003), 3.

there and base our understanding of them on our own experiences as both children and adults. In many ways, that understanding correlates to the definition of the “suburban ideal” articulated by historian Mary Corbin Sies, and others, in which rows of single-family, detached homes housing white, middle-class families created isolated communities away from the urban core.⁴⁸ That “suburban ideal” was certainly the vision imagined by developers of the new Cameron Park, Boylan Heights, and Glenwood-Brooklyn, as well as older neighborhood subdivisions such as Oakwood, in which the developers constructed artificial neighborhoods dominated by single-family houses. In this suburban ideal mothers stayed at home to raise children while fathers went into town to a job, usually in business. What Sies’ research and the research behind this dissertation reveal, however, is that “very little demographic and local history data conforms to the stereotype of white affluent suburbs that is associated with the suburban ideal.”⁴⁹ Sies found this conflict over the history of suburbanization in developments across the nation, and she argues that “the attraction to country living—the desire for gardens, quiet, fresh air, and porch sitting—resonated strongly with African American and white suburban dwellers, working and middle-

⁴⁸ Sies, “North American Suburbs,” 313-346.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 328.

class alike.”⁵⁰ The conflict between the ideal and reality derived from the historical record demands an interrogation of these stereotypes.⁵¹

Residents in Raleigh lived all over the city and in various suburban neighborhoods. *Map A: Raleigh Suburban Neighborhood Locations*, in Figure 4 below, shows the relationship between Raleigh’s 1920’s suburban neighborhoods.⁵² On this map the original eighteenth century town borders are visible and labeled as “Downtown” while the 1914 annexation is visibly designated by a green line and the 1920 annexation is designated by a purple line. Oakwood and Mordecai, Raleigh’s first two suburban neighborhoods, characterized by late nineteenth century and early twentieth century houses, both developed northwest of city center. Smokey Hollow, located strategically along the railroad tracks in Raleigh was a mixed-use, mixed-class, and mixed-race neighborhood that was eclipsed in the 1920s by the growth of Glenwood-Brooklyn.⁵³ Cameron Park, Boylan Heights, and Glenwood-Brooklyn were all platted and built in the 1920s in relation to the streetcar, as were the later Hayes

⁵⁰ Ibid., 317.

⁵¹ Ibid., 315.

⁵² The borders of the suburban neighborhoods are approximations based on two histories of Raleigh’s neighborhoods and suburbs. See Catherine W. Bisher and Lawrence S. Earley, eds, *Early Twentieth century Suburbs in North Carolina: Essays on History, Architecture, and Planning* (Raleigh, NC: Archaeology and Historic Preservation Section, Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1985); and Linda L. Harris et al., *Early Raleigh Neighborhoods and Buildings* (Raleigh, North Carolina: The Raleigh City Planning Department, the Raleigh Historic Properties Commission, The Raleigh Historic Districts Commission, 1983).

⁵³ See Chapter 4: “A Residence City”: Spatial Patterns in a Modernizing Raleigh if this dissertation for a discussion of the relationship between Smokey Hollow and Glenwood-Brooklyn.

Barton, Bloomsbury, and other Five Points neighborhoods which followed in the 1930s and post-World War II period in Raleigh.⁵⁴ Oberlin, Lincolnville, and Method were all African American neighborhoods founded in the post-emancipation period by freedmen and women and African American business entrepreneurs in the city.⁵⁵ The large gap of land between Oberlin and the Lincolnville/Method neighborhoods allowed for the development of West Raleigh by State College professors for employees and students of the school.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Raleigh Historic Development Commission, "Historic District Reports," <http://www.rhdc.org/> (accessed August 26, 2012).

⁵⁵ Simmons-Henry and Edmisten, *Culture Town*.

⁵⁶ West Raleigh was an automobile suburb which really encompassed several smaller neighborhoods such as Fairmont, Bedford, and Wilmont which were close to the original State Fair Grounds. See Raleigh Historic Development Commission, "West Raleigh Historic District," <http://www.rhdc.org/cameron-park-historic-district> (accessed August 26, 2012).

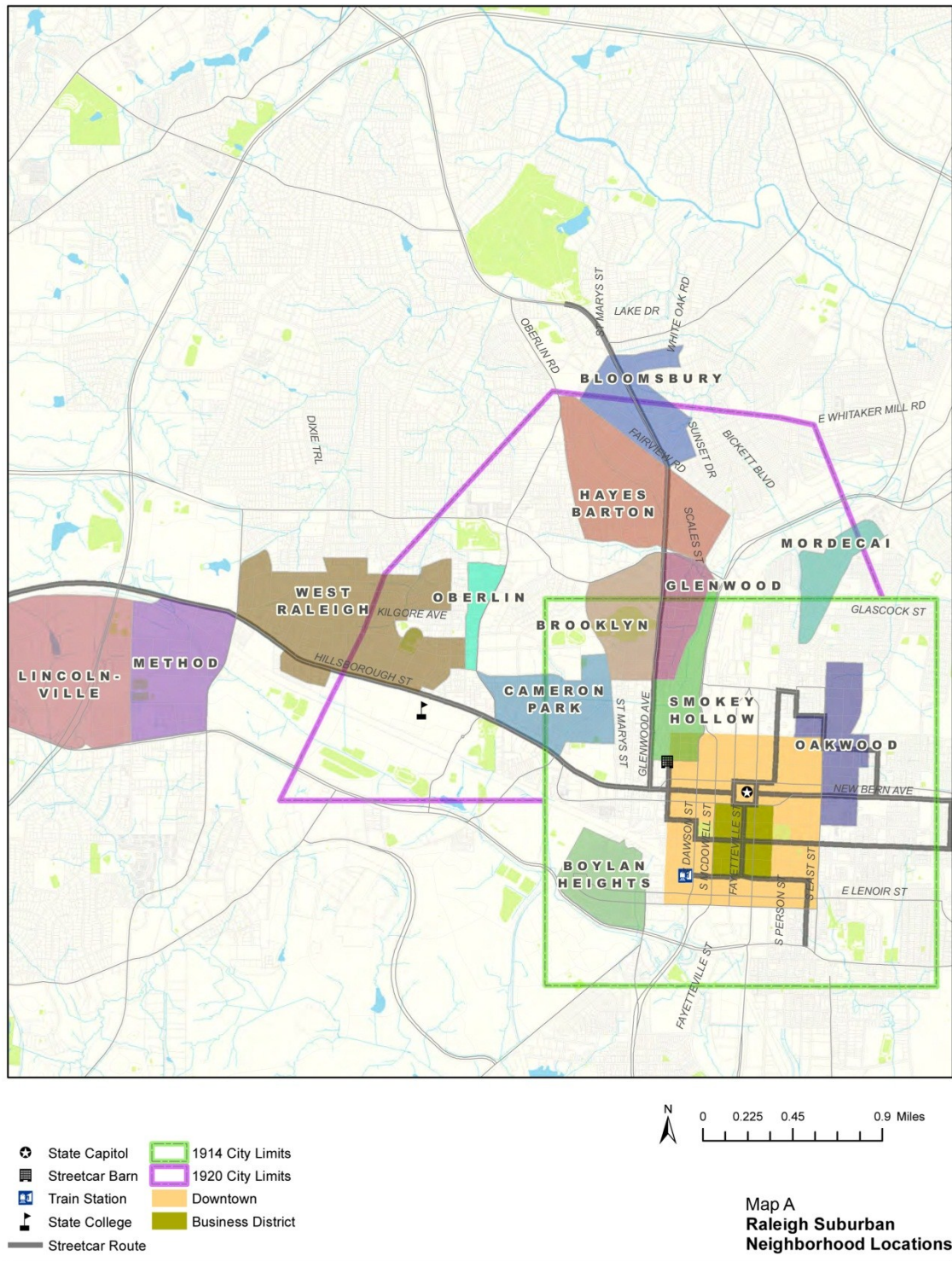


Figure 4. Map A: Raleigh Suburban Neighborhood Locations

In her research, Mary Corbin Sies found flexibility in occupational statuses within suburban communities. Using manuscript census records, Sies found that suburban residents could be classified on the census as having “upper middle-class” occupations, “middle-class” occupations, and “working-class” occupations. In Raleigh, the resident lists from the city directories show this pattern as well. If we cross reference the city directory lists with street addresses obtained from the newspaper classifieds for Raleigh in the 1920s we can see a mixture of occupations in specific suburban neighborhoods.⁵⁷ For example, in 1929 at 113 ½ Chamberlain Street, in the West Raleigh suburban neighborhood (near State College), lived a traveling salesman named Mr. L.E. Britton as well as a teacher from State College named Mr. Gustave K. Tebell.⁵⁸ While at 223 E. Pace St., in one of Raleigh’s first suburbs of Oakwood, in that same year, lived Mrs. Roxie King, who did the linen for the Bland Hotel, and Mr. Howard B. Harris, an assistant pressman at the *News and Observer* newspaper.⁵⁹ And at 603 Elm St.

⁵⁷ The addresses used in this section of the dissertation come directly from the extant buildings used in the fieldwork portion of this study. It includes buildings cited in the classifieds of the *News and Observer* newspaper from the years 1919, 1922, 1926, and 1929. As described in the dissertation Introduction, I created a database of house listings and then walked Raleigh’s city center and suburban neighborhoods to locate all houses still extant. After photographing each house, I cross-referenced each address of an extant property with the city directories from 1918-1929 to obtain demographic data about gender, race, and occupation of each property’s residents. For a complete list of the resident names and occupations for the single-family homes please see the table in Appendix A at the end of this dissertation. Those addresses are from the extant buildings used in the fieldwork portion of this study. It includes buildings cited in the classifieds of the *News and Observer* newspaper from the years 1919, 1922, 1926, and 1929. For a discussion of the subdivision of single-family homes into multi-family living spaces with multiple residents see Chapter 5: House as Private Residence, House as Income Strategy: The “Suburban Ideal” and the Vernacular Uses of Single-Family Homes in this dissertation.

⁵⁸ *Raleigh City Directory*, 1929.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

(also in Oakwood), in 1929, lived a Mr. L. Hurley Johnson, a mechanic.⁶⁰ In another example, in 1926, at 521 N. East St. (Oakwood) lived Mr. H. Finn Kelly, a fireman, and Mr. Benjamin W. Riggan, a flagman.⁶¹ The diversity of occupations is visible at multiple addresses in Raleigh where clerks, dressmakers, insurance agents, bankers, tellers, florists, painters, signalmen, draftsmen, and engineers all made homes at suburban addresses.⁶²

Sies was also surprised to find that about 15 percent of households that classified themselves as one of the middle-classes had adult women who worked outside of the home.⁶³ Sies found in the 1900 and 1910 census women were listed as teachers, milliners, dressmakers, business proprietors, realtors, stenographers, bookkeepers, and sometimes professionals or artists. Sixteen percent of the households Sies investigated relied on incomes from both men and women and 17 percent of households depended on income from two or

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid., 1926.

⁶² For a complete list of the resident names and occupations for the single-family homes please see the table in Appendix A at the end of this dissertation. Those addresses are from the extant buildings used in the fieldwork portion of this study. It includes buildings cited in the classifieds of the *News and Observer* newspaper from the years 1919, 1922, 1926, and 1929.

⁶³ According to historian Nathan Miller, "Ten million women worked for wages during the 1920s- one in five wage earners in 1927 was a woman- but this was hardly a sign of equality or liberation, as it is sometimes portrayed. Often balancing a job, home, and children on low pay, working women had few, if any, opportunities to enjoy the independent and indulgent lifestyles portrayed in *Life*, *Vanity Fair*, and other popular magazines. Almost a third of working women, particularly blacks and foreign born, were employed in the decidedly unglamorous field of domestic work." See Nathan Miller, *New World Coming: The 1920s and the Making of Modern America* (New York: Scribner, 2003), 255.

more employed males, usually adult children.⁶⁴ Nathan Miller notes in his writing the shift in the 1920s female workforce from lower-class, factory workers to women working in white-collar office and sales work. Miller writes that “Office and sales work was regarded as less demeaning than factory and domestic work, and middle-class girls and women flocked to these ‘lace collar’ jobs,” but office work for women did not mean equality as they were consistently paid barely more than half of a male’s wage in national labor statistics from the decade.⁶⁵

In Raleigh, women were also employed in a variety of occupations outside of the home. As Table 2 below, indicates women in Raleigh’s suburbs worked in new occupations as stenographers and telephone operators. One could attend school at a local business college (such as King’s Business College in Raleigh) to learn the skills necessary to become a secretary or clerk or to even teach there upon graduation as Miss Caroline Teachey and Miss Lucy Herring chose to do. Both married women and single women worked outside of the home in a variety of occupations. These professional jobs by women are indicative of the new constructions of gender identity in the 1920s. Middle-class women working outside of the home was considered modern as they radically differed from their Victorian mothers who were (if middle-class) more than likely homebound. Not

⁶⁴ Sies, “North American Suburbs,” 324-325.

⁶⁵ Nathan Miller cites the National Industrial Conference Board report from December 1927 which stated that the average weekly wage for males was \$29.25 whereas for women in comparable sales jobs it was \$17.36. See Miller, *New World Coming*, 255.

only did Raleigh have new business colleges in the 1920s, but it was also home to several, religiously affiliated, academic institutions for women as well, including The Peace Institute, Saint Mary's School, and Meredith College.

Table 2. Working Women in Raleigh's Suburbs

Name	Occupation	Street Address	Year Listed in City Directory
Miss Caroline G. Teachey	Business college	305 Linden Avenue	1921/1922
Miss Ruth P. Savage	Secretary	511 Oakwood Avenue	1921/1922
Miss Thelma Swisher	Telephone operator	223 E. Pace Street	1926
Caroline G. Teachey	company president Teachey's Ladies' Misses' Ready-to-Wear Garments	309 Linden Avenue	1926
Mrs. Gladys Lloyd	Stenographer	503 Cole Street	1926
Miss Thelma Walton	Stenographer	523 N. Bloodworth Street	1926
Miss Mary L. Herring	Clerk at newspaper	604 N. Blount Street	1926
Miss Lucy C. Herring	Business college teacher	604 N. Blount Street	1926
Mrs. Elizabeth M. Howard	Dressmaker	716 W. Hargett Street	1926
Miss Edna Hall	Saleslady	408 S. Boylan Avenue	1926
Mrs. Josephine Snow	Stenographer	511 E. Jones Street	1926
Mrs. Clyde C. Upchurch	Laboratory technician	545 E. Jones Street	1926
Miss May Deaton	Teacher	628 W. Jones Street	1926
Mrs. Burton C. Brickman	Saleslady	719 W. Morgan Street	1926
Miss Mary Brickman	Saleslady	719 W. Morgan Street	1926
Mrs. Berta Johnson	Clerk	614 Polk Street	1929
Mrs. Blonnie C. Kennedy	Raleigh French Dry Cleaning and Dyeing Co.	1412 Glenwood Avenue	1929
Muriel C. Sallinger	Clerk	305 Cutler Street	1929
Mrs. Edna Murray	Raleigh Glass Company	511 Oakwood Avenue	1929

Table 2: This table lists the name of all of the women living in the suburban houses from the fieldwork portion of this study and their occupation and address according to the year

they were found in the City Directory. The data shows that women worked outside of the home in a wide variety of occupations.⁶⁶

Sometimes, women in Raleigh belonged to two-income households and worked alongside male relatives or husbands. While most working women in the 1920s were single and under age twenty-five, one in four were married and ran households either alone, with their husbands, or with male relatives such as fathers or brothers.⁶⁷ For example, Miss Caroline T. Teachey had a business and her male relative, Mr. James M. Teachey, was the City Superintendent of Streets for Raleigh.⁶⁸ Mrs. Thelma Swisher, a telephone operator, lived with her husband Mr. John F. Swisher, a local carpenter.⁶⁹ Mrs. Gladys Lloyd, a stenographer, worked at Holcomb & Hoke Manufacturing Company while her husband, Mr. Zeno L. Lloyd worked as a technician for the Carolina Power and Light Company.⁷⁰ Mrs. Blonnie C. Kennedy, who managed Raleigh French Dry Cleaning and Dyeing Company, was married to Mr. J. Everett Kennedy, the president of Cascade Laundry Company, Incorporated.⁷¹ Miss Edna Hall, a saleslady at the Boylan-Pearce Company, lived with a male relative, Mr. Alton C.

⁶⁶ *Raleigh City Directory*, 1921-1922, 1926, and 1929.

⁶⁷ Nathan Miller writes that "To make ends meet, single women shared rooms, lived in residence clubs and boarding houses, scrimped, and hoped for dates with men who were generous with meals and entertainment. See Miller, *New World Coming*, 255-256.

⁶⁸ *Raleigh's City Directory*, 1926.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Raleigh's City Directory*, 1926.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 1929.

Hall who was an attorney.⁷² Mrs. Josephine Snow, a stenographer for the Caveness Produce Company, brought income into the household alongside her husband, Mr. Raymond A. Snow, an office manager for the Carolina Power and Light Company.⁷³ The reality of these professional women alters our understanding of the pervasiveness of the “suburban ideal.” The national research of Mary Corbin Sies, alongside the local research of this dissertation, indicates that women working outside the home, not just in a domestic capacity, but a professional one, was frequently the case.

The placement of not just single-family homes, but apartment buildings as well, in Raleigh near streetcar lines and later near suburban thoroughfares, allowing car access, facilitated a shift in traditional gender roles to something more modern, as well. Easy access to public and private transportation made city life outside of the home and outside of the suburb a reality for southern women. The influx of women into the city to shop, to work, and to socialize with other women because of their lives in apartment houses, “helped break down the notion of a private home as women’s only proper sphere.”⁷⁴ Raleigh residents were very interested in the transportation technologies of first the streetcar and then the automobile, which connected them in new ways to the downtown core. Ownership of an automobile signified a social distinction in ways that the

⁷² Ibid., 1926.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Cromley, *Alone Together*, 199.

streetcar did not. As historian David Nye has argued in his history of American electrification, the automobile “appealed strongly to the same middle-class that patronized the street railways, whose routes had helped to create the suburbs where they lived. By 1920, however, the automobile had created a class gap between those who drove and those who rode.”⁷⁵

The presence of adult children (and sometimes their spouses) in the suburban household is also a pattern visible in Raleigh. However, those adult children were not always male. For example, at 523 N. Bloodworth Street (Oakwood) lived the Walton family. Mrs. Ella O. Walton was the widow of Mr. J.E. Walton. Ella shared her house with her daughters Ruth and Thelma, a stenographer.⁷⁶ The Herring family lived at 604 N. Blount Street (downtown) including Vara, Pauline, Eugenia, Mary, Lucy, and Kate at the beginning of the decade.⁷⁷ But, by 1926 Eugenia and Kate had both left the house and Lucy had become a teacher at King’s Business College.⁷⁸ In the 1922 the Teachey family lived at 305 Linden Avenue (Oakwood). Mr. James M. Teachey, Jr., a salesman, John W. Teachey, James M. Teachey, the City Superintendent of Streets, and Mrs. Caroline G. Teachey, a business college student or teacher (the directory is

⁷⁵ David E. Nye, *Electrifying America: Social Meanings of a New Technology* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1990), 133.

⁷⁶ *Raleigh City Directory*, 1926.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 1921/1922.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 1926.

unclear) all shared housing.⁷⁹ But, by 1926 James M. and Caroline had moved to 309 Linden Avenue (Oakwood).⁸⁰ The widow, Mrs. Annie D. Savage, lived with her adult children, son Clark, a bookkeeper and daughter Ruth, a secretary.⁸¹ At 628 W. Jones Street (Glenwood-Brooklyn) lived the Deaton family in 1926 including Isaiah, a real estate agent, Allen, an elevator operator, Louis, a bookkeeper, and May, a teacher.⁸² Mr. and Mrs. Burton C. Brickman lived at 719 W. Morgan Street (West Raleigh) in 1926 along with Frederick Brickman, a clerk, and Mary Brickman, a saleslady.⁸³

Mary Corbin Sies found that nuclear families were not always the norm in suburban houses. She found “substantial percentages of couples, single-parent families, and singles living alone or in small groups” like the Herring sisters. In fact, only about 50 percent of households in the suburbs contained nuclear families.⁸⁴ Oftentimes, adult, male children remained with the parents until they saved enough money to establish their own home, with or without a wife. The presence of adult children in the home is oftentimes associated with working-class suburbs because those individuals needed a way to save for the future. But, Sies found that 70 percent of males aged twenty to twenty-five, 30 percent

⁷⁹ Ibid., 1921/1922.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 1926.

⁸¹ Ibid., 1921/1922.

⁸² Ibid., 1926.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Sies, “North American Suburbs,” 325.

of males aged twenty-six to thirty, 14 percent of males aged thirty-one to thirty-five, and 7 percent of males aged thirty-six to forty lived at home with mom and dad in affluent suburbs.⁸⁵

A final misconception about suburbs is that working-class Americans rented while middle-class Americans owned their own homes. Sies found that “residents of planned, exclusive suburbs felt much less compulsion to own their own homes. In her case studies, Sies found that only between 29-34 percent of residents in the middle-class suburbs owned their own home.⁸⁶ The rapid turnover rate of residents listed in the city directories of Raleigh suggests that the rental population of the city’s suburbs was constantly in flux. For example, the house at 223 E. Pace Street (Oakwood) was home to the Crowders in 1922, the Swishers and James Kinlaw in 1926, and the Kings and Harris families in 1929.⁸⁷ The home at 521 N. East Street (Oakwood) housed the Stevens family in 1922, Finn Kelly and Benjamin Riggan in 1926, the Davis family and Harry B. Warren in 1929.⁸⁸ On the other hand, there were residents who stayed within one property throughout the decade such as George A. Oldham who lived at 422 Cutler Street

⁸⁵ Ibid., 325-326.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 327.

⁸⁷ *Raleigh City Directory*, 1921/1922, 1926, and 1929.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

(Boylan Heights) for the entire decade or the Upchurch family at 545 E. Jones Street (Oakwood) as well.⁸⁹

Interior and Exterior Amenities: Marketing the Single-Family House to Renters

The *News and Observer* classified advertisements in the 1920s are filled with instances of homeowners hawking the latest and greatest technologies and amenities to use them as a selling point for their dwellings to attract renters.⁹⁰ This was an important marketing strategy as the decade progressed and single-family homeowners had to compete with apartment house developers for renters in Raleigh's housing market. The "suburban ideal" was not just about living outside of the city core; it was about living *well* through "modern conveniences" such as utilities and appliances. Features such as "continuous hot water," "steam heat," "telephone," "electric lights," and "gas range" were oftentimes capitalized, in bold type, or italicized in classified advertisements to draw the reader's attention to a specific advertisement in the newspaper. For example, in Figure 5 below, the use of capitalization highlights the most important feature, in this case heat, for the reader in a classified advertisement from 1929.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ I define "amenity" as any useful feature that makes a particular apartment space a desirable choice to rent. This could include "technologies" such as indoor plumbing or electricity, but also non-technological features such as a private entrance, garden, or sun porch. Technologies are amenities to a living space but amenities are not necessarily technological.



Figure 5. December 1, 1929 Advertisement. From the *News and Observer*, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Table 3 below, summarizes the types of new household technologies which one could find advertised in the classifieds from the sample used in this project.

Table 3. Apartment Amenities from Classifieds Sample

Apartment Amenities	1919	1922	1926	1929
Steam, vapor, or furnace heat	0	50	134	138
Electric Lights	5	5	43	55
Gas	1	1	19	14
Telephone	0	2	21	31
Refrigeration	0	0	0	19

Table 3: The table above summarizes the types of amenities featured in the project sample and each time they were mentioned in individual classified advertisements, by year. While today it is more commonplace to think of these features as standard utilities, in the 1920s none of these were guaranteed in rental housing or for that matter in home ownership. Homeowners could rely on the use of amenity language to entice renters to look at their addresses. This table shows both the variety of utilities available and the increase in discussion of amenities in the classifieds of this study by year. Raleigh, North Carolina, *News and Observer*.

The need for private homeowners to single out these housing features suggests that they were not a standard part of southern life, but instead were modern and new. These technologies added to the costs of a home either in building a newer home in the 1920s or retrofitting a nineteenth century home to bring it up to 1920s standards. Today, it seems easy for us to not even consider these features when looking for housing. We have a presumption that running

water (both hot and cold), electricity, heat, gas for cooking, etc. are standard features that are included with rent or in the purchase of a house, so much so, that you rarely find them featured in housing advertisements. Not only were these amenities portrayed as luxurious to those interested in renting space in the 1920s, they were frequently listed as “modern conveniences.” Even if a particular advertisement did not specify the types of plumbing, appliances, or other features to be expected in a particular rental property, the terminology “modern conveniences” demonstrates that homeowners viewed modern appliances and utilities as a major selling point for attracting renters. One hundred ninety-four of the records in the classifieds database employ the word “modern” to describe the rental property. Private homeowners, who were renting out portions of their single-family house into apartments, might use the word “modern” as one means to make their housing seem more competitive with larger apartment houses throughout the city.

Homeowners had to significantly alter their homes to accommodate these technologies, which rapidly came to be seen as necessities to modern American life. The changes in size between Victorian-era houses and early twentieth century houses were startling.⁹¹ Historian Clifford Edward Clark, Jr. reports, in his study of the American home, that a house in 1905 which cost \$3,000 would have had approximately 1,000 to 1,500 square feet of space whereas its

⁹¹ The discussion of the subdivision of both late nineteenth century Victorian houses in Raleigh and early twentieth century homes into apartments is discussed in detail in Chapter 5: House as Private Residence, House as Income Strategy: The “Suburban Ideal” and the Vernacular Uses of Single-Family Homes in this dissertation.

Victorian counterpart in the 1880s had between 2,000 and 2,500 square feet of usable space. The significant shrinking of the size of a house was balanced out by the increasing expenses incurred through plumbing, heating, and electrical wiring. In this way the average price of a home still remained within reach of a middle-class homeowner, but not necessarily within the reach of groups like young married couples, students, and folks newly arrived in the city who depended on a rental market. The average price of a home in 1891 in the United States was \$2,400 whereas by 1910 it had only increased slightly to \$2,650. According to Clark, the American public was “willing to sacrifice space and complexity for better efficiency and newer technologies.”⁹²

While the cost of utilities would have automatically been factored into new housing starts in homes built in the new suburbs of Cameron Park, Boylan Heights, and Glenwood, it would have been a significant investment for homeowners of Victorian-era houses to retrofit single-family homes. Owners would have had to alter houses to make them both architecturally subdivided and to provide the new technological amenities which were rapidly becoming required for modern life. No doubt, these expenses put financial pressure on homeowners to lease rooms to pay for these costs, thus providing direct motivation for the division of larger single-family homes into multi-family living spaces. The additional income generated by renters could be channeled back into mortgage repayment plans. Private homeowners, who were in the process

⁹² Clifford Edward Clark, Jr., *The American Family Home, 1800-1960* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 162-163.

of either dividing their single-family homes into multi-family dwellings or renting out single rooms, also had the challenging task of finding ways to distribute such “modern conveniences” throughout the house. Private, family quarters (if the owner was sharing living space with tenants and did not choose to live at a separate address) and apartment space within the single-family home potentially had to have some kind of distribution scheme for these new technological resources throughout the house. It is a logical assumption that owners willing to go to the expense of retro-fitting their homes with “modern conveniences” would want to enjoy these features for themselves, could use them as a means to attract tenants when needed, and could recoup the expenses of these interior improvements with the income generated from a steady rental business.

The distribution of utilities, however, was not necessarily equal. This was the case for individual homes in Raleigh, as well as nationally. The new utilities of heat, light, power, and sewerage came unevenly. As Thomas Schlereth’s research shows, “The wealthy got such services before the poor, city residents before farm families, and, to an extent, easterners before southerners and westerners.”⁹³ While a private home might have a full-sized kitchen for food preparation on the owner’s side, the rented out rooms or apartment within that house might contain something smaller, like a kitchenette.⁹⁴ Even though a

⁹³ Schlereth, *Victorian America*, 111.

⁹⁴ Paul Groth labels smaller kitchens within efficiency apartments as “buffet kitchens” and sees them as early as 1911 in San Francisco. The “kitchenette” became a popular term in the 1920s for a six-foot by eight-foot room which allowed for simple food preparation and capitalized on the new packaged foods available in grocery stores. According to Groth, “Unskilled women

kitchenette was definitely smaller in square footage and contained less counter space than a full-sized kitchen, it typically still had a full sink, a refrigerator, and a heating device such as a stove, hot plate, or warming oven.⁹⁵

Since private homes in Raleigh with apartment rental space could have been either, retrofitted Victorian-era homes or newer, early twentieth century houses, homeowners could not count on the presumption that potential tenants would know what kinds of amenities could be expected at any particular address. Therefore, it was important to spend money emphasizing those features within the classified advertisements themselves. Sometimes advertisements did not need to use the word “modern” at all to define a modern living space; rather, they just let amenities speak for themselves like in this 1929 advertisement, for example, "TWO APARTMENTS FOR COUPLE four rooms and bath hot and cold water. Vapor heat and Frigidaire. 128 W. Harrington St., call at apartment number 1 or Phone 670."⁹⁶ In the above advertisement the homeowners had already divided the property into separate apartment spaces. They occupied apartment one while other renters would occupy apartments two and three. In another advertisement like this one, for example, "FOR RENT-THREE AND FOUR room apartments at special summer prices. Stove, Frigidaire and water furnished. Phone 677 or 801," a sense of scarcity is created with the phrase

working in canneries and food processing plants were doing many of the food preparation steps formerly done in individual kitchens.” See Groth. *Living Downtown*, 86.

⁹⁵ Cromley, *The Food Axis*, 164.

⁹⁶ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, June 2, 1929.

“special summer prices,” which indicates that the low rate and modern apartment might not be around for the tardy renter.⁹⁷

Both of the above advertisements make use of the national brand name “Frigidaire” as a selling point for their property. By the 1920s, the ice in the ice box had been replaced by the artificial cooling systems in refrigerators powered by gas or electricity.⁹⁸ Historian Elizabeth Collins Cromley writes about this connection between modernity and refrigeration, “The electric refrigerator with its smooth, white-enameled box and streamlined curves brought a fashionable new object into the kitchen. Compared to the old icebox, it was both more effective in keeping food cold and more successful in proclaiming the modernity of the family who owned it.”⁹⁹ Nineteen advertisements in the database explicitly identified not just refrigeration, but the brand name brand Frigidaire as an apartment feature.¹⁰⁰ Another advertisement specifically mentions the brand name “Arcola” when referencing the heating system, “429 HALIFAX ST. FIVE ROOM apartment, Arcola heat. Water furnished. Phone 2145.”¹⁰¹ Sixty-three advertisements explicitly listed a kitchenette as a feature of the apartment while sixteen boasted

⁹⁷ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, April 28, 1929.

⁹⁸ Cromley, *The Food Axis*, 149.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 152.

¹⁰⁰ See Classifieds, *News and Observer*, February 3, 1929, February 17, 1929, February 24, 1929, April 7, 1929, April 14, 1929, April 21, 1929, April 28, 1919, June 2, 1929, June 9, 1929, June 16, 1929, June 23, 1929, and June 30, 1929.

¹⁰¹ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, November 21, 1926.

of access to a gas stove.¹⁰² The prominence of these modern features in the advertisements indicates that homeowners tried to emphasize the stark contrast between what a “modern” city and an “exclusive” suburb could offer tenants versus the assumed backwardness of country life. Middle-class life in the suburbs was about consuming products and services. The inclusion of such a slick appliance as a refrigerator or gas stove was a fashion statement for homeowners that sent a message of modernity to guests and potential tenants.

More than gas, electricity, or new appliances the most important technological feature in a modern 1920s apartment, by far, was water. City dwellers and suburbanites needed constant and immediate access to the element for cooking, cleaning, bathing, and drinking. In an overwhelming amount of classified advertisements water features were highlighted above all other apartment amenities, signifying that, at the time, water, and the technology used to convey it to customers, was indeed an amenity and not something to be taken for granted by potential residents. Apartment advertisements were riddled with aquatic language such as “cold water,” “running water,” “tile baths,” “adjoining bath,” “bath connecting,” “sink in kitchen,” “continuous hot water,” “water

¹⁰² See Classifieds, *News and Observer*, May 11, 1919, July 6, 1919, July 13, 1919, July 27, 1919, November 15, 1919, December 24, 1922, January 17, 1926, January 24, 1926, January 31, 1926, March 7, 1926, March 21, 1926, March 28, 1926, May 2, 1926, May 9, 1926, May 16, 1926, May 23, 1926, May 30, 1926, July 11, 1926, July 25, 1926, September 5, 1926, September 12, 1926, September 19, 1926, September 26, 1926, November 7, 1926, November 28, 1926, February 10, 1929, February 17, 1929, February 24, 1929, April 7, 1929, April 14, 1929, April 21, 1929, June 9, 1929, June 16, 1929, August 4, 1929, August 11, 1929, August 25, 1929, October 13, 1929, October 27, 1929, December 1, 1929, December 8, 1929 for references to “kitchenettes” in rental properties classifieds. See Classifieds, *News and Observer*, January 17, 1926, January 31, 1926, March 7, 1926, March 14, 1926, May 9, 1926, July 11, 1926, February 3, 1929, April 28, 1929, June 30, 1929, August 4, 1929, August 11, 1929, August 25, 1929, December 8, 1929 for references to “gas stoves” in rental properties classifieds.

furnished,” “bath connections,” “lavatory in room,” “convenient to bath and shower,” “sewer,” “shower bath.” For example, take this 1922 advertisement which lists water among features such as electric lights and a telephone as a marketing strategy to attract tenants, "FOR RENT: THREE ROOM UN-furnished apartment, lights, water, steam heat, telephone included. Immediate possession. Phone 1072-M."¹⁰³ As Table 4 establishes below, property owners made sure to highlight water accessibility whenever possible.

Table 4. Water Features in Apartments from Classifieds Sample

Water Features	1919	1922	1926	1929
Running water furnished	4	23	147	129
Hot and cold water (access or in room)	0	12	89	71
Bath	13	35	229	214
Tiled bath	0	0	2	1
Private bath	2	6	55	42
Lavatory	0	0	8	6
Shower	0	0	0	10
Sink	0	0	2	1
Room Adjoining, Connecting, Convenient, Near bath	3	11	89	77
Total times water features are listed in classifieds, per year	22	87	621	551

Table 4: This table situates water as a central feature of modern apartment living. It tracks the frequency and increase over time of water features mentioned in classified advertisements of the *News and Observer* over the course of the years in this study. This indicates that either there was an actual increase in water accessibility in Raleigh apartment living, there was an increase in talking about water accessibility in Raleigh apartment living, or more likely, both. Raleigh, North Carolina, *News and Observer*.

Much of this fuss over water had to do, of course, with the invention of a new room in American housing— the bathroom. The bathroom was not

¹⁰³ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, October 1, 1922.

designated by a specific room containing a tub, sink, and toilet until around the time of the First World War. The continuous water supply necessary to maintain privy and bathing facilities meant that house remodelers or those constructing new homes needed to centralize the bathroom's functions into one room. This room needed to be located as close as possible to the plumbing system of the building, which was also an economical choice. By 1910, Sears, Roebuck began to stock bathroom fixtures and entire bathroom suites in their home order catalogs. Just as you could buy your kit house from Sears, you could also buy the furniture, wallpaper, paint, doorknobs, rugs, lamps, and anything else needed for the most modern of homes, including your tub, sink, and toilet.¹⁰⁴ Fixtures were manufactured by the American Standard company and, of course, came in standardized sizes with standardized components so they could be retrofitted into older nineteenth century homes or into newly constructed homes of the early

¹⁰⁴ A "kit house" was a type of prefabricated housing that was extremely popular in the first half of the twentieth century in America. Also known as pre-cut houses, ready-cut houses, mail order homes, or catalog homes, they were manufactured and sold by a variety of companies across the country. The most popular company was probably the Sears, Roebuck and Company which operated a prefab housing business from 1908-1940 and eventually sold over 450 read-to-assemble designs for housing as diverse as mansions, bungalows, and summer cottages. These homes could be personalized in a variety of ways for owners and contained new technologies of indoor plumbing and electricity. These houses were extremely popular because they provided purchasers with pre-cut lumber (when individualized power tools were unknown), complete sets of specifications and instructions, financing programs, and a range of styles and budgets. Prefab housing companies operating in the United States included The Aladdin Company, Montgomery Ward, The Hodgson Company, The Gordon-Van Tine Company, Pacific Ready-Cut Homes, as well as the Lewis Manufacturing Company and Sears, Roebuck. Many companies sold design and plan books as well as items to furnish and decorate the home once it was built. See Katherine Cole Stevenson and H. Ward Jandl, *Houses By Mail: A Guide to Houses from Sears, Roebuck and Company* (Washington DC: The Preservation Press, 1986), 19-43. See also "Bibliography" and "Home Page," Antique Home Style, <http://www.antiquehomestyle.com/bibliography.htm>. <http://www.antiquehomestyle.com/index.htm> (accessed November 3, 2011).

twentieth century. Brothers, Edward and Clarence Scott, found success with commercially manufactured toilet paper which they transformed by selling it on a roll with small, perforated sheets. The stark white color of the sheets matched the sanitary look of bathroom fixtures. Thomas Schlereth notes this emphasis on the sanitary color of white and the standardization of parts in his description of the American bathroom post World War I,

The white trio of tub (with canvas shower-curtain optional), toilet, and sink (freestanding or wall-hanging), aligned along a wall and compressed into an average of forty-eight square feet, became a distinct architectural form. Unlike their migratory predecessors, these fixtures were permanently attached to networks of water and waste.¹⁰⁵

Exterior spaces were just as important as interior utilities to defining modernity for apartment life. And, as the 1920s progressed, these spaces became more heavily underscored in the classifieds. Private entrances and private porches were very important in defining separate zones for homeowners and renters, who were making multi-family housing out of single-family spaces, because they helped to disguise non-family members within a household. Sleeping porches were important to the college rental market and property owners worked to emphasize them. Apartment renters could host guests or stretch out of their own confines by using features such as a “sleeping porch” or

¹⁰⁵ Thomas Schlereth, “Conduits and Conduct: Home Utilities in Victorian America, 1876-1915,” in *American Home Life, 1880-1930: A Social History of Spaces and Services*, eds. Jessica H. Foy and Thomas Schlereth (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1992), 236, 238.

“Murphy bed.”¹⁰⁶ Whether you look at an example from the beginning of the study, as in this July 7, 1919 advertisement which reads, “FOR RENT- FURNISHED APART-ment, either two or three rooms, and sleeping porch. Address 'X-2' care News and Observer” or one from the end of the decade, as in this advertisement appearing just after the Christmas holiday in 1929 which reads, “DESIRABLE. APARTMENT. 211 Hawthorne Road. Cameron Park, four rooms, sleeping porch, garage, heat. Reasonable terms. Phone 929-W,” we can see the use of the sleeping porch as an important point of sale.¹⁰⁷

Sleeping porches or rooms might consist of a simple netting apparatus strung on porch supports or they could be more elaborate wooden structures tacked onto homes. A sleeping porch meant the cool, comfort of evening breezes, the hygienic benefit of outdoor air for a generation of Americans obsessed with personal health, and the ability of apartment tenants to open the home up to personal guests at certain times of the year. They were advocated

¹⁰⁶ A Murphy bed was another efficient way to host a guest in the tighter confines of an apartment. The Murphy bed was invented by furniture manufacturer William L. Murphy at the turn of the twentieth century. An apartment dweller himself, Murphy wanted a bed that could be put away during the day for entertaining in the restricted space of a one-bedroom apartment. Housed in frames and functioning by the use of a spring, these beds were built to swing out of the wall and down to the floor for sleeping at night. Come morning, a person could simply flip the bed back into the closet into which the bed was built or against a side wall and shut the door until the Murphy was needed again. The Murphy Wall Bed Company began to manufacture Murphy beds in California beginning in 1900. Eventually, the innovative design, which soared in popularity in the 1920s and 1930s, made its way to the east coast and to North Carolina. There were a variety of designs for the Murphy bed which could make apartment living easier. Some beds came on rollers that could be rolled into a closet or a nook during the day while others were built directly into a closet or chained onto a wall of the interior. See “Coming Out of the Closet: Murphy Beds and Their Practical Uses,” *Sears Modern Homes* <http://www.searshomes.org/index.php/2011/03/09/coming-out-of-the-closet-murphy-beds-and-their-practical-uses/> (accessed July 27, 2010).

¹⁰⁷ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, December 29, 1929.

by reformers and social historian Alan Gowans argues that their popularity in the early twentieth century stemmed from the desire to achieve “the integration of space indoors and out...[as] a nostalgic attempt to recapture the old American ‘pioneer heritage’...where the sky is still the limit.”¹⁰⁸ Elizabeth Collins Cromley’s research has shown that “It was quite common for people to construct screened sleeping porches just outside their indoor bedrooms, either as a feature of a new house, or as an easily-made improvement to an older one.”¹⁰⁹

Classified advertisements for Raleigh emphasized exterior spaces like the sleeping porch, garage, and sun parlor as a way to attract renters to a particular property. Table 5, below, summarizes the frequency of exterior spaces in the classifieds section.

Table 5. Exterior Spaces in Apartments from Classifieds Sample

Exterior Spaces	1919	1922	1926	1929
Porch or Parlor (sun, sleeping, or traditional)	0	1	25	28
Garage	1	23	148	164
Private, outside, separate entrance	1	3	21	30
Total number of exterior features in classifieds	2	27	194	222

Table 5: This table summarizes the types of exterior spaces highlighted in the classified advertisements in this study. It also shows the steady increase in the use of exterior descriptions in the database by year. Raleigh, North Carolina, *News and Observer*.

¹⁰⁸ Alan Gowans, *Images of American Living* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 424.

¹⁰⁹ Elizabeth Collins Cromley, “A History of American Beds and Bedrooms, 1890-1930,” in *American Home Life, 1880-1930: A Social History of Spaces and Services*, eds. Jessica H. Foy and Thomas J. Schlereth (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1992), 134.

One exterior feature, the sun parlor, was a more modern architectural feature for single-family homes. The sun parlor consisted of a porch or room constructed largely of windows which exposed occupants to ample, direct sunlight. Usually entirely enclosed in glass, the term originated in the early twentieth century in magazines and books about house design and construction. Also known by a wide variety of terms such as “sun porch,” “sun deck,” “solarium,” or “Florida room” it appeared on plans for kit houses such as one for *The Cheltenham* which was a product of the Lewis Manufacturing Company. In a 1922 company publication entitled, *Lewis Homes: Homes of Character*, writers linked the health of a sun parlor to the modern, American lifestyle,

The Cheltenham is a distinctly modern version of the Dutch colonial home. The beauty of the old lines has been preserved by the wonderful sun parlor gives away the fact that this home belongs to these later days of faith in sunshine and fresh air.¹¹⁰

The company included drawings of a house plan for *The Cheltenham* which placed the sun parlor adjacent to the living room and outfitted with eight, floor-to-ceiling windows and a cement floor. Sun parlors were modern and new construction additions to house design and they emphasized the sanitation, health, and happiness to be gained from exposure to fresh air.¹¹¹ In *The*

¹¹⁰ Antique Home Style, “The Cheltenham,” <http://www.antiquehomestyle.com/plans/lewis/1922/22lewis-cheltenham.htm> (accessed November 3, 2011).

¹¹¹ Sun parlors were not just for ordinary Americans. In the early twentieth century, President William Howard Taft had a combination “sun parlor” and “sleeping porch” added to the White House. This room gave the First Family a cool place to sleep at night and doubled as a

Cheltenham's design, double doors opened out onto the sun parlor whose "walls are made almost entirely of glass."¹¹² Another house design book, from the Home Builders Catalog Company of Chicago, featured a Colonial-style home from 1928 that included seven rooms and a sun parlor.¹¹³

Perhaps because apartments containing sun parlors were located in larger homes, property owners felt they could take additional time and space on the classifieds page to enumerate and describe the variety of rooms a "modern" apartment would contain. Like in this advertisement from January 1926 which reads, "MODERN APARTMENT COMPOS-ed of reception room, sun parlor. Three bed rooms, dining rooms, kitchen, dressing room and bath. Steam heat and water furnished. Corner Hillsboro and McDowell streets. Phone 2046-J."¹¹⁴ Or in this advertisement from August 1929, "APARTMENT- P R I V A T E FIVE rooms, sun parlor, heated. Excellent location. Phone 2278-J," which also used the sun parlor as a marketing strategy for increasing the desirability of the rental space.¹¹⁵ Since sun parlors were frequently included on twentieth century house plans but were not standard features of apartment houses, advertisements such

casual entertaining space during the daytime. In 1927, the third floor of the White House was expanded, including the sun parlor, and First Lady Grace Coolidge renamed it the "Sky Parlor." See The White House Museum, "Sun Parlor," <http://www.whitehousemuseum.org/floor3/sun-room.htm> (accessed November 3, 2011).

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Arts and Crafts Era Hardware and House Plans, "House Plans and Renderings," http://builderscatalogs.com/House-Plans.htm#0_item (accessed November 5, 2011).

¹¹⁴ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, January 3, 1926.

¹¹⁵ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, August 25, 1929.

as the ones above, suggest that a “modern apartment” was indeed the type of space which could exist within a converted home. In July 1926 another advertisement, which reads, "SIX ROOM NEW STEAM HEATED apartment. Hardwood floors, garage, sun parlor, porch, and lawn. Mordecai section \$47.50. Phone 2520-M" the “sun parlor” is associated with this apartment described as “new.” Sun porches were a means to bring outdoor space into the home and they replaced the nineteenth century conservatory in the Victorian home. They became popular because of their versatility throughout the year. Sun parlors enclosed in glass in the winter could double as screened-in sleeping porches in the summer months to allow air flow.¹¹⁶ This would have been especially useful in the balmy climate of piedmont North Carolina.

Raleigh residents were also very interested in the new transportation technology of the automobile. An important quality stressed by those seeking renters was the availability of a garage which could house a car. Apartment selling points often included a “garage,” “double garage,” or “paved street” and residents clearly required space for automobile storage just as much as they required amenities such as gas, electricity, and heat. As Table 5 above shows, garages were mentioned with increasing frequency in the classified section of the newspaper. Fifteen percent of the advertisements in this study explicitly

¹¹⁶ Candace M. Volz, “The Modern Look of the Early-Twentieth century House: A Mirror of Changing Lifestyles,” in *American Home Life, 1880-1930: A Social History of Spaces and Services*, eds. Jessica H. Foy and Thomas J. Schlereth, (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1992), 29.

reference a “garage” as a selling point for their property.¹¹⁷ In some instances, it was important to give renters options for transportation. For example, in this advertisement from 1919 which reads "ONE LARGE ROOM, SEPARATE entrance. Every convenience. Garage. Private family. Also large room and kitchenette for light housekeeping. On car line. Reasonable rent. Phone 1441 between 9 and 2" the homeowners used both the presence of a garage and the proximity to the streetcar line to attract tenants.¹¹⁸ In others, a garage was an additional amenity offered at a particular address as in this 1922 advertisement, "TWO ADJOINING FURNISHED bedrooms, private bath, outside entrance, garage. Gentlemen or business women preferred. H-906, care News and Observer."¹¹⁹ Exterior features, such as porches, garages, and private entrances, were crucial elements to preserving the outward appearance that a particular building functioned as a single-family house. Even if the interior was subdivided and used by homeowners to incorporate non-family members into the household, the exterior could still preserve the illusion of the private, isolated, middle-class family contained within.

¹¹⁷ 338 out of 2,196 records explicitly reference a “garage.”

¹¹⁸ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, July 13, 1919.

¹¹⁹ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, April 30, 1922.

Conclusion

The developers of the Cameron Park, Glenwood-Brooklyn, and Boylan Heights subdivisions intended their neighborhoods to embody the spirit of the “suburban ideal.” That ideal was aspirational, consumption-oriented, and difficult to obtain. Using city directory data on renters, we can trace suburban lifestyle patterns including the presence of adult children in the household (as opposed to only nuclear families), the reality of the modern occupations of women in two-income households (as opposed to the stereotype of a male bread winner and a domestic wife), and the incorporation of non-family members into single-family households as renters, all of which tarnish the image of the “suburban ideal” in favor of the reality of how suburban homes were really used and how homeowners really lived. Using classified advertisements from the newspaper, we can trace the components of the rental market and identify what amenities and technologies made a particular property desirable. The “suburban ideal” of single-family homes in the suburbs conflicts with the reality of both how single-family houses were used as multi-family living spaces and with the demographic data on renters in Raleigh. The symbolic image of the single-family home and of the suburbs as an enclave of white, middle-class prosperity contrasts with the practical uses of suburban neighborhoods and homes.

CHAPTER IV

“A RESIDENCE CITY”: SPATIAL PATTERNS IN A MODERNIZING RALEIGH

Introduction

In early October 1929, the city of Raleigh was poised for celebration. That autumn residents commemorated the harvest season by hosting the North Carolina State Fair, Homecoming Week for State College, and the Lights Golden Jubilee, which honored the work of Thomas Edison on the fiftieth anniversary of the invention of the incandescent electric lamp. The keynote speaker at the North Carolina State Fair that year, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, was, as yet, less well-known in the South than in his native New York. Hosted by the editor of the *News and Observer* newspaper, Josephus Daniels, and his wife, Roosevelt, then the governor of New York, gave two speeches to North Carolinians during his stay.¹ FDR spoke once at the State Fair and once from the portico of the State Capitol Building, and he addressed crowds with words of praise over the state's agricultural development and progressive politics.²

¹ Roosevelt had developed a close relationship with Daniels when he was appointed to serve under him as Assistant Secretary of the Navy in 1913 during President Woodrow Wilson's administration. You can read more about the history of the *News and Observer* newspaper and its most famous owner and editor, Josephus Daniels, on the company history page of their website. See News and Observer, "History," <http://www.newsobserver.com/2009/08/13/10439/company-history.html> (accessed September 12, 2010).

² Classifieds, *News and Observer*, October 15, 1929.

This set of speeches helped Roosevelt lay the groundwork for his presidential run in 1932. His selection of Raleigh was indicative of both an acknowledgement of the importance of the southern vote to the Democratic Party as well as recognition that the city was now occupying a place of regional leadership. Roosevelt's legacy would once again touch Raleigh through his New Deal when an author from the Writer's Program of the Works Progress Administration in North Carolina would write in 1942 that Raleigh had, by 1929, become a "meeting place and clearinghouse for almost every field of endeavor in the state."¹

The Raleigh that Roosevelt observed in 1929 was not the same as the one that had existed in the early twentieth century or even at the beginning of the 1920s. This new Raleigh was born out of the modernizing decade of the 1920s and the changing ideas about how city space functioned. New urban and suburban spatial patterns were created out of socio-economic factors such as race, occupation, and class. Nineteenth century homes in older, downtown neighborhoods and in suburbs like Mordecai and Oakwood were rapidly converted into boarding houses, restaurants, and apartments to accommodate population growth.² Newer suburbs, like Hayes Barton, and business districts, like East Hargett Street, reflected the shifts in technology (from buggy to

¹ The Writers Program of the Works Progress Administration, *Raleigh Capital of North Carolina*, (New Bern, NC: Owen G. Dunn Co., 1942).

² Ruth Little has written that "Following World War I, as the auto came into general use and fashionable neighborhoods developed on Raleigh's outskirts, second generation Oakwood residents moved away, and the large residences became boarding houses or apartment houses. See Ruth Little, "Oakwood," in Harris et al., *Early Raleigh Neighborhoods*, 17.

streetcar to automobile) and increasing prosperity, as new groups like African Americans and women thrived as property owners and entrepreneurs in the city.

As early as 1902, lawyer, amateur historian, and business promoter, Moses Amis, had predicted this eventual change in Raleigh's status when he wrote that, "The spirit of progress is alive, capitalists at home and abroad have their eyes upon Raleigh."³ His history of Raleigh reads like much of the stereotypical New South booster literature of the period, and the intent seems to have been to "sell" Raleigh to investors from outside the region and to those potentially considering relocation. Amis rhapsodized,

As a resident city, Raleigh is as near perfect as any city could be desired. Its beautiful homes; wide macadamized streets; its well-kept lawns; its three parks in the very heart of the city and its large and delightful park in the western limit; its Raney Library, the pride of the city and the best public library that is to be found anywhere in a city of its size; its elegant clubhouse, a dream of architectural beauty; its numerous social, historical, and business societies-all these and others go to make Raleigh a thoroughly delightful *residence city*.⁴

The "residence city" was a philosophy put forth by city boosters in Raleigh, such as Amis, in which the single-family home became the symbol of progress and refinement. The "residence city" of Amis' worldview was one of cleanliness, gentility, culture, and learnedness, a city on the brink of greatness with much to offer locals and newcomers alike.

³ Amis, *Historical Raleigh* (1902), 202.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 203.

Residential housing helped to define a distinctive and modern urban identity in this new Raleigh. Residents did not always cooperate with that vision of the “residence city” and the symbolism of the single-family home was more often than not—an illusion. The popularity of multi-family housing solutions in the form of boarding houses, apartments within single-family houses, and apartment houses contradicted the vision of the “residence city” made up of single-family, suburban homes. Multi-family housing in Raleigh was not restricted to working-class or African American neighborhoods; instead, it became an important housing choice among white, middle-class residents, as the spatial patterns created out of housing records in the city directories and city maps indicate.

Building the Residence City

Within the first two decades of the twentieth century, Raleigh had utility, educational, governmental, and business infrastructures in place allowing for a 79 percent increase in population from 13,643 people in 1900 to 24,418 people by 1920.⁵ Raleigh followed a state-wide pattern of town expansion according to historian Sydney Nathans who wrote that, “Decade by decade, more North Carolinians made town their home: one in twenty-five in 1870, one in ten in 1900,

⁵ According to the U.S. Census Record for 1920 “Raleigh city” had 24,418 residents. Effective in August 1920, an additional portion of “Raleigh township” (township included the city limits and surrounding suburbs) containing 2,658 residents was newly annexed to “Raleigh city” bringing the total population for “Raleigh township” to 27,076 people in 1920. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census, 1920*, Volume 1: Population Numbers and Distribution of Inhabitants, 268.

one in four by 1930.”⁶ Streetcars, sewage lines, and electricity, leading to improved standards of living, encouraged migrants to abandon the farm for the occupational and recreational opportunities of the city. State government, private educational institutions, and business colleges flourished in Raleigh town limits. By the 1930 United States Census, Raleigh’s population had boomed to 37,379 in “Raleigh City” (within the city’s official municipal limits) but the surrounding suburbs, coupled with the city’s population, brought the total of “Raleigh Township” population up to 43,182 individuals.⁷ The modernizing decade of the 1920s almost doubled the size of the population of Raleigh.

A post-World War I building boom moved forward construction projects totaling more than \$25 million in the city proper and \$4 million in the suburbs.⁸ According to a planning history of Raleigh, “Soon after the end of World War I, Raleigh experienced increased residential and commercial development in almost boom proportions.”⁹ Residential development surged forward in the

⁶ North Carolina did, however, lag behind national patterns. The 1920 census of the United States showed that most Americans lived in cities while most North Carolinians lived on farms and in rural areas. Despite the fact that thousands of North Carolinians left the farm for city life, statistics for both farms and farmers continued to increase throughout the 1930s across the state. See Sydney Nathans, *The Quest for Progress: The Way We Lived in North Carolina, 1870-1920* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 5, 14, 45.

⁷ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census, 1930*, Volume 1: Population Numbers and Distribution of Inhabitants, Table 12 “Population by Age, Color, Nativity, and Sex for Cities and Towns of 10,000 or more 1930, 352 and Table 21 “Population by Sex, Color, Age, Etc. for Counties by Minor Civil Divisions 1930,” 399.

⁸ *Raleigh Capital of North Carolina*, Preface.

⁹ City of Raleigh Planning Department, “The City’s Development History: Town to City Era, 1900-1920,” Community Inventory Report, http://raleigh-consult.limehouse.com/portal/planning/community_inventory_report?pointId=1203990088330 (accessed September 21, 2011).

1920s. By 1922, the assessed valuation of real estate in Raleigh was \$29,338,000.¹⁰ This growth of Raleigh's borders is illustrated in *Map B: Raleigh City Limit and Downtown*, pictured below in Figure 6. *Map B* shows the original town borders and two twentieth century annexations. The section shaded and labeled "Downtown" marks the initial boundaries as platted in the eighteenth century when Raleigh was bounded as a large square by North, South, East, and West streets. By 1914 a new annexation (marked by a green line) included the earliest suburbs such as Mordecai and Oakwood within city limits. The 1920 border (marked by a purple line) annexed Raleigh's suburban developments to the north and west of the city. Within these new borders, older suburbs were built up while empty land was marked for further development in additional waves of subdivisions.

¹⁰ D.E. MacCarthy, ed., *Raleigh, the historical capital city, its institutions, wealth and resources: Wake County, the land of opportunity, sunshine and happiness, North Carolina* (Raleigh, NC: The Raleigh Chamber of Commerce, 1923), 2.

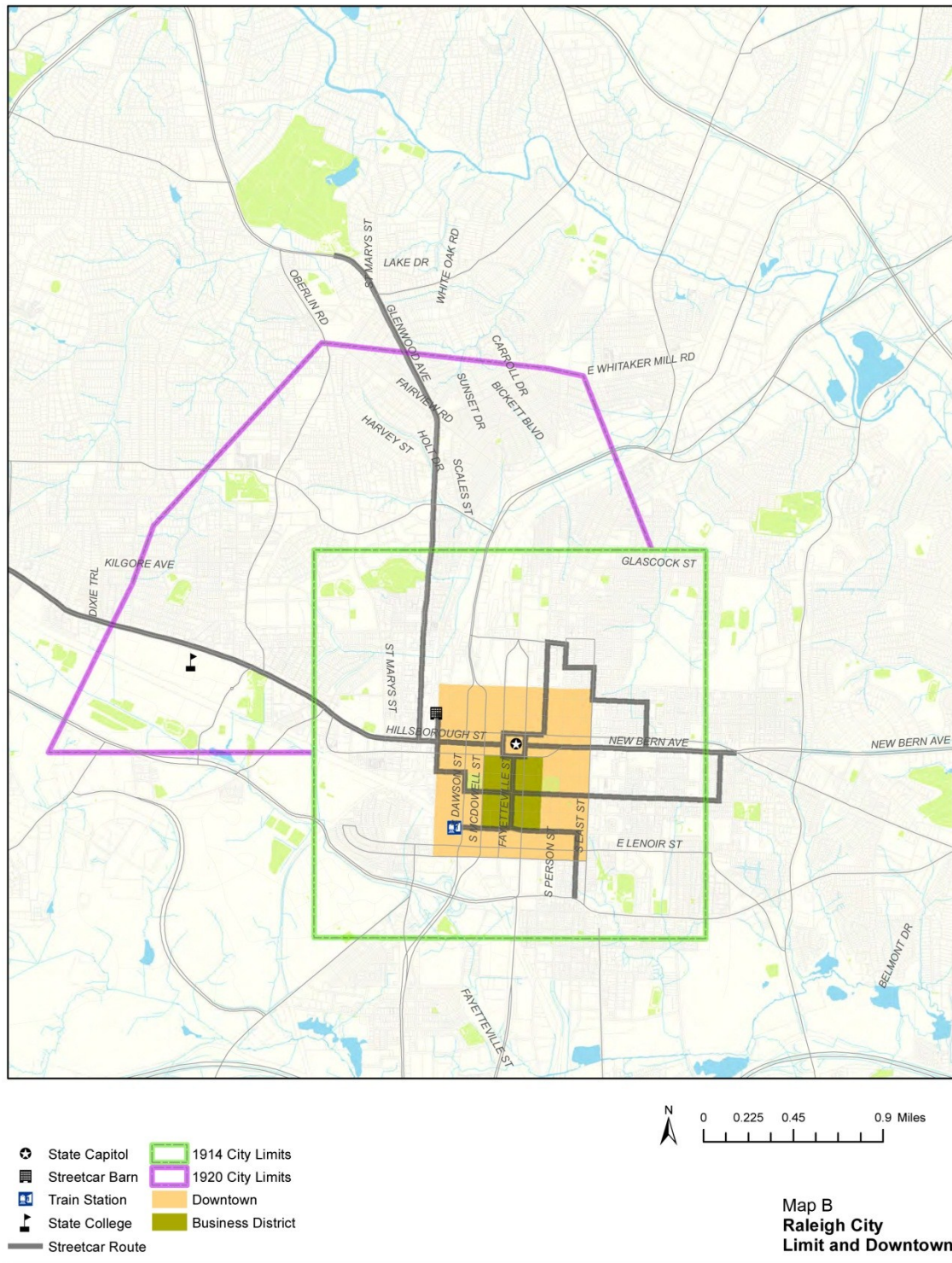


Figure 6. Map B: Raleigh City Limit and Downtown

Suburban development to the north and west of the city center was spurred by streetcar technology.¹¹ *Map B*, above, shows the strategic placement of the streetcar route (marked by a gray line) by the city train station, the State Capitol building, and by the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts (State College).¹² Streetcars and suburbs were intimately linked. Oftentimes suburban developers used streetcars as a tool for promoting movement outside of the city limits into a particular neighborhood.¹³ The streetcar operated in Raleigh from 1891 to 1934.¹⁴ As *Map B* illustrates, the streetcar route horizontally and vertically dissected the city.¹⁵ Running along

¹¹ City of Raleigh Planning Department, "Town to City Era, 1900-1920," http://raleigh-consult.limehouse.com/portal/planning/community_inventory_report?pointId=1203990088330.

¹² The North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts became today's North Carolina State University.

¹³ Those residents used to the nineteenth century walkable city, now had the option of living in newer streetcar neighborhoods as they moved in and around downtown and the suburb via the streetcar or trolley system. The term "walking city" comes from the classic work on the relationship between suburbanization and the streetcar by Sam Bass Warner, Jr. entitled *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston (1870-1900)*. The dimensions of the "walking city" of the early nineteenth century would be what an average man might be able to walk within the space of an hour, perhaps up to three miles. This notion of a walking city fell apart with the introduction of streetcar suburbs linked to the urban core. People no longer had to live and work within the tighter confines of a downtown city. Instead, they could move outside of the city limits and still remain connected to downtown by the streetcar and eventually the automobile. Warner found in his research on Boston that the first suburbs were "mixed settlements of Boston commuters and local workers." See Sam Bass Warner, Jr. *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston (1870-1900)*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1978), Introduction to the Second Edition, vii-vii and Chapter Two: The Large Institutions, 15-18.

¹⁴ Turner, "Development of Streetcar Systems in North Carolina," <http://www.cmhpf.org/development%20of%20streetcar%20systems.htm>, 22.

¹⁵ The boundaries of Raleigh's "business district" (as enclosed by Morgan, Blount, Cabarrus, and McDowell Streets) come from Waugh, *North Carolina's Capital, Raleigh*, 164. Data on the annexations and street borders was gathered from Harris et al., *Architectural and Historical Inventory of Raleigh*, 14-16. Data to construct the streetcar route was gathered from

Hillsboro Street, New Bern Avenue, and Glenwood Avenue, the tracks radiated outward in the four cardinal directions from the Capitol building and provided easy access to State College, the train station, and to selected suburban developments outside of the city limits or within the 1920 annexation. Easy access, however, did not mean equal access. The streetcar system in Raleigh was built to benefit downtown residents, like folks who stayed in boarding houses, to a somewhat higher degree than suburban residents and white residents more than black residents. In *Map C: Boarding House Locations* in Figure 7 below, we can see a thick concentration of boarding houses in the downtown core of Raleigh, with only a smattering on the outskirts of that area.

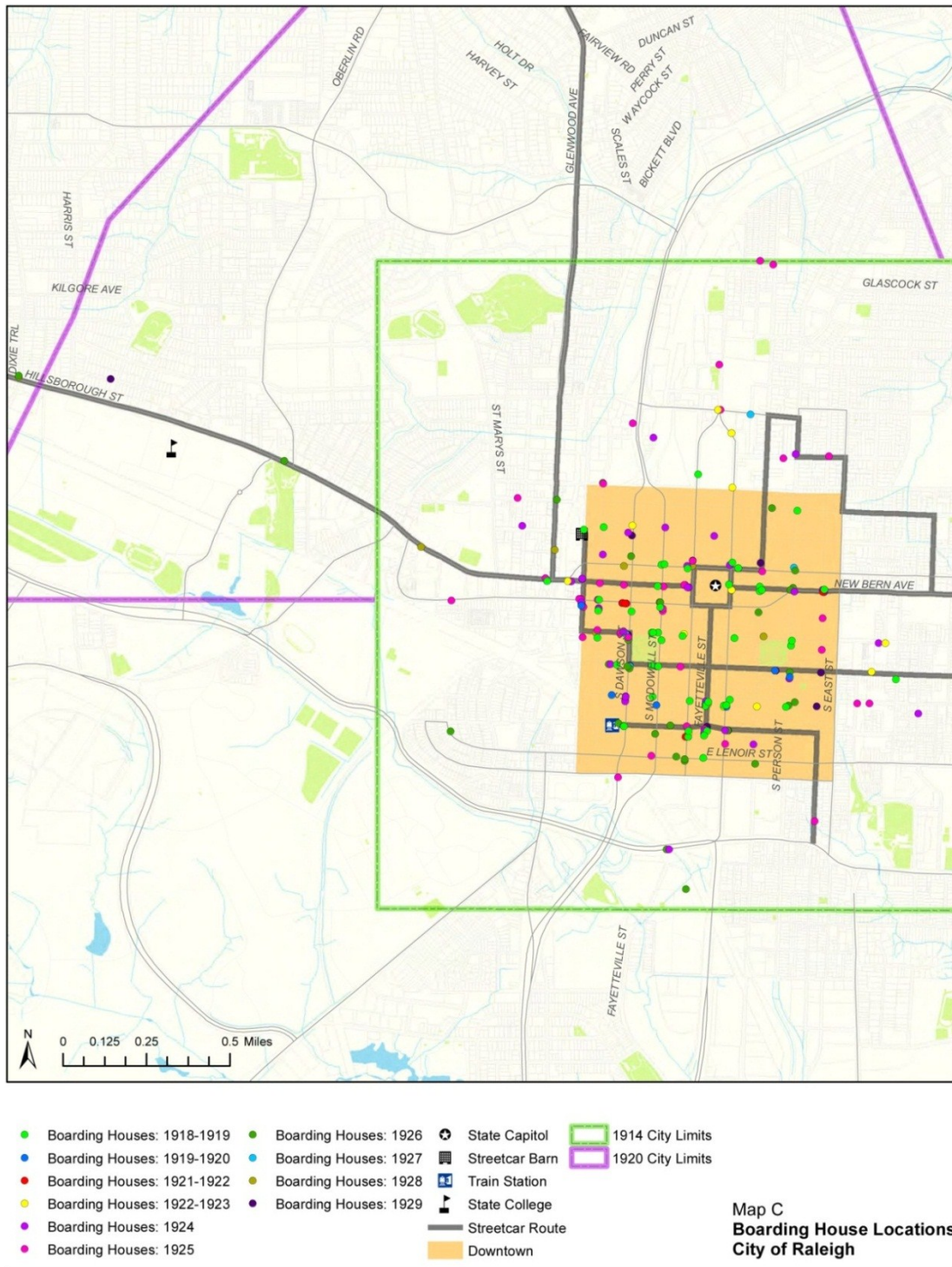


Figure 7. Map C: Boarding House Locations. The years on the map key correspond to a color-coded dot which indicates how many boarding houses were present in the city directories for Raleigh from 1918-1929.

One major advantage to boarding house life was close access to the streetcar tracks coursing through downtown. However, when we pull out the African American boarding houses, as illustrated in Figure 8, *Map D: African-American Boarding Houses, 1918-1929*, below, we can see that these properties are not directly situated on the streetcar route on Dawson, McDowell, Davie, Hargett, and Martin streets; rather, they are several blocks walk to the nearest stop, such as for the houses on Lenoir and East streets.¹⁶ With a concentration in the southeast side of downtown and beyond, residents of African American owned and operated boarding houses had farther to travel to board public transportation.

¹⁶ By using the phrase “African American boarding house” I am referring to properties that were both owned and operated by African American men and women. Also, these houses would have served an exclusively black clientele. “White boarding houses” were owned and operated by white men and women and served white patrons only.

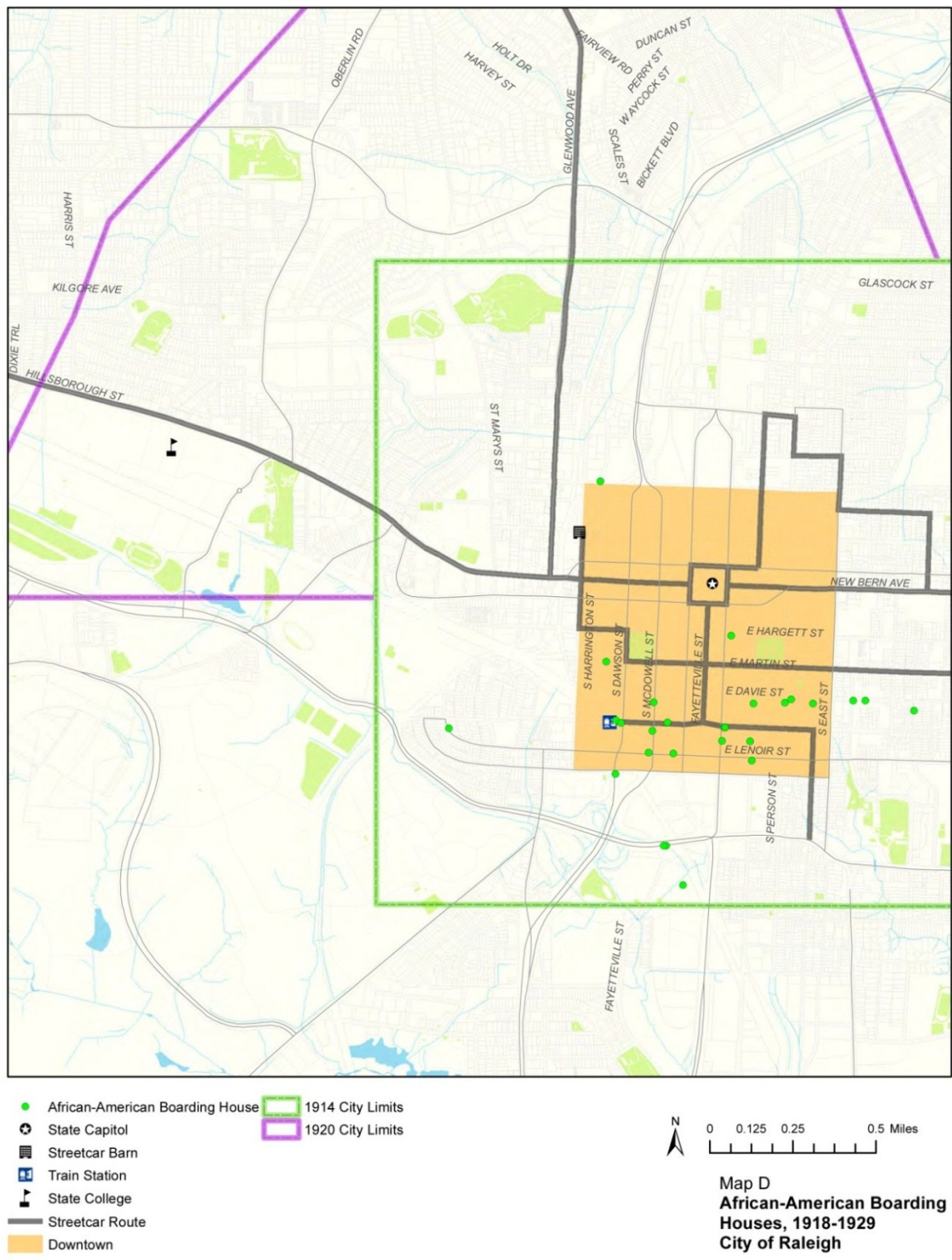


Figure 8. Map D: African-American Boarding Houses.

In North Carolina and across the nation streetcars were usually owned and operated by power companies such as Carolina Power and Light (CP & L), which serviced the Raleigh area.¹⁷ Trolleys moved at around twenty miles per hour in the city and faster in areas with lower population densities. Eventually, companies standardized practices by charging a low, flat rate with free transfers, so it was more affordable to ride to the new suburbs, amusement parks, and athletic fields cropping up on the outskirts of town, if those services were nearby to a person's particular development.¹⁸ The typical flat rate in North Carolina,

¹⁷ Car design was influenced by the weather as summertime brought open cars while in the wintertime they were closed off to protect riders. Mule drawn cars were used on Christmas Day in 1886 when the Raleigh Street Railway Company opened the state's first trolley system with four miles of track. Scheduled runs with electric cars did not begin in Raleigh until 1891 and in 1908 the company merged with Carolina Power and Light. See Turner, "Development of Streetcar Systems in North Carolina," <http://www.cmhpf.org/development%20of%20streetcar%20systems.htm>, 3, 8.

¹⁸ Suburban developers were primarily concerned with attracting residents to move into their developments. One major strategy they used (which incidentally increased streetcar ridership) was the creation of recreational amusement parks. Although streetcar companies offered multiple routes and cheap fares, amusement parks situated along car lines were a major draw for residents. Historian David Nye argues that, "it was more common for companies to build parks in smaller cities and towns than in large cities, which had a wide variety of amusements," so it made sense to construct these types of parks to serve a place like Raleigh and her suburbs. See Nye, *Electrifying America*, 123. Parks often included electrical light displays, beautiful landscaping, and lakes for boating, picnic areas, bandstands or pavilions for concerts or musicals, and sports facilities like baseball fields, tennis courts, or bowling alleys. More elaborate parks might include swimming pools, movie theaters, carousels, and rollercoasters such as existed at Bloomsbury Park and Pullen Park in Raleigh. Pullen Park was named after entrepreneur Richard Stanhope Pullen. Pullen donated the large wooded tract as the site for Raleigh's first public city park. In West Raleigh, Pullen donated land for North Carolina's first land-grant college, North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts (later North Carolina State University). See Little, "Oakwood," in *Early Raleigh Neighborhoods*, 16. The purpose of these parks was to encourage ridership, in particular, during off peak hours, in the summer, on holidays, and on the weekends, but more importantly these parks attracted residents to live in new suburban developments known as "streetcar suburbs." Bloomsbury was situated on one hundred acres near the Glenwood Subdivision. It was built as "an oasis of genteel delight" and intended as an alternative for urban youths who might otherwise be attracted to morally questionable amusements such as saloons, gambling houses, or dance halls. See Nathans, *Quest for Progress*, 86. It was nicknamed the "electric park" with its 8,000 lights to attract visitors. Bloomsbury also boasted a penny arcade, a roller coaster, dance pavilion, picnic tables, bicycle

and nationally, was five cents.¹⁹ During its heyday, in the 1920s, the streetcar in Raleigh had eleven miles of track running through and around the city, serviced by twenty-six cars, and traveled by 2.4 million passengers. In *Map A: Raleigh Suburban Neighborhood Locations*, in Figure 9 below, we can see the streetcar route traveled furthest to the north, east, and west of the city. Each suburban neighborhood is featured with its name and approximate borders on *Map A* below.²⁰ The southern portion of the city, and the suburban development beyond, had very little access to streetcar technology. First, we can see the oldest suburbs in Raleigh, Mordecai and Oakwood, which were built for white, upper class to upper middle-class residents on the east side of the city. Some of the houses in these neighborhoods from the late nineteenth century would have predated the electric streetcar in Raleigh. In the central city and to the north, developers built Bloomsbury, Hayes Barton, Glenwood-Brooklyn, Cameron Park,

paths, and a Wurlitzer organ to entertain guests. See Turner, "Development of Streetcar Systems in North Carolina," <http://www.cmhpf.org/development%20of%20streetcar%20systems.htm>, 17. The main attraction of Bloomsbury was an elaborate carousel with hand carved wooden animals that moved to the rhythm of popular music. The carousel was moved to Pullen Park in Raleigh in 1921. It was manufactured by the Dentzel Carousel Company of Philadelphia (1903-1909) and featured work by the famous woodworker, Salvatore Cernigliaro, and glass eyes made in Czechoslovakia. See Nathans, *Quest for Progress*, 86. Pullen Park boasted seventy-four enclosed park acres with a "semi-forest reserve of exceptional natural beauty." Pullen also offered visitors a swimming pool, pavilion, driving spaces, and "various pleasure devices for the children." MacCarthy, *Raleigh, the historical capital city*, 2. See also Schlereth, *Victorian America*, 24.

¹⁹ Turner, "Development of Streetcar Systems in North Carolina," <http://www.cmhpf.org/development%20of%20streetcar%20systems.htm>, 2.

²⁰ Raleigh's suburban development continued in the post-World War II period and through the 1960s and 70s. The suburban neighborhoods illustrated in *Map A* are ones that were either in existence or newly built in the 1920s and thus directly relevant for this project. The borders of the suburban neighborhoods are approximations based on two histories of Raleigh's neighborhoods and suburbs. See Bisher and Earley, *Early Twentieth Century Suburbs*. See also Harris et al., *Early Raleigh Neighborhoods and Buildings*.

and Boylan Heights for a white, middle-class clientele.²¹ The westernmost portion of Raleigh's suburbs, were African American neighborhoods called Lincolnvile and Method. Lincolnvile and Method, along with Oberlin, were all post-emancipation settlements begun by a combination of freedmen and women and entrepreneurial African American businessmen in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, who rejected the high rent prices in downtown Raleigh.²²

²¹ The racial information about these neighborhoods is derived from the resident lists in the Raleigh city directories for the decade. See *Raleigh City Directories*, 1918-1929).

²² Simmons-Henry and Edmisten, *Culture Town*.

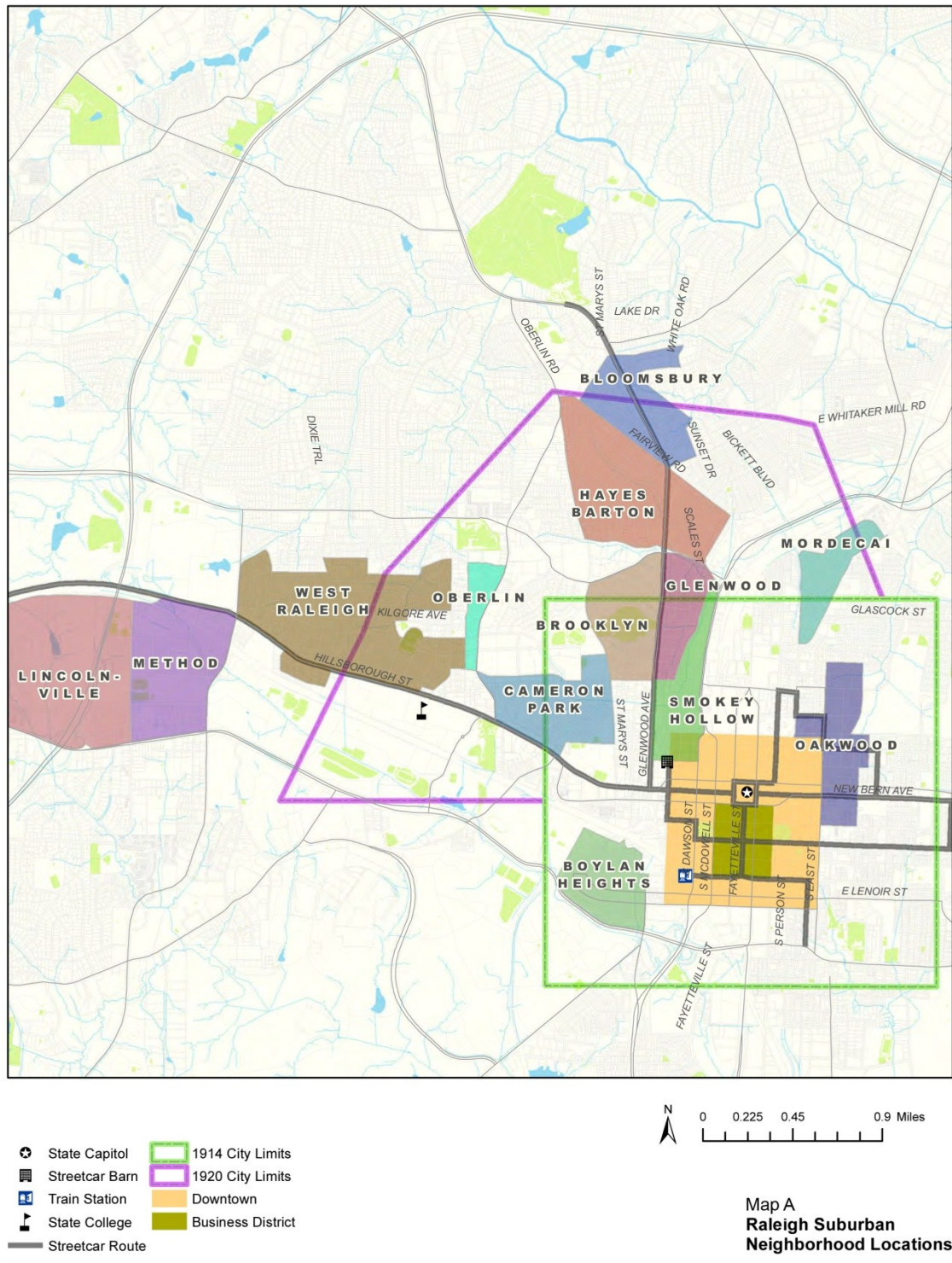


Figure 9. Map A: Raleigh Suburban Neighborhood Locations

The lack of affordable housing for African Americans in Raleigh encouraged some to move out of the city core. African American residents in Raleigh wishing to travel from the black suburbs of Lincolnvill or Method to the East Hargett Street black business district would have much further to walk to catch a streetcar, since the route just skirted the edges of their suburbs instead of traversing directly through them, whereas a white suburban development, such as Cameron Park, was flanked on both sides by available track, as seen in *Map A* above. One African American resident of the Oberlin neighborhood recalled that movement into the more affordable land in the suburbs did not mean better access to city services, “out here in Oberlin we had just a few scattered houses, stores, church, and a school. Everything out here was Negro and because of that nobody bothered about us, the city wouldn’t even fix up the streets or give us lights or anything else.”²³ Both oral history testimony and the physical tracks of the streetcar (as seen in *Map A*, above) in Raleigh indicate that a pattern of racial exclusion to city services was an important factor in the construction of the “residence city.” Residences in the “residence city” ideal were meant to be for single families, were meant to be suburban, were meant to be owned and not rented, and were meant for white families, not black ones.

²³ African American residents in Raleigh had access to boarding houses in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Middle-class businessmen from the East Hargett Street black business district and faculty and staff working at Saint Augustine’s Shaw, African American institutions of higher learning, built Victorian, single-family homes around those campuses in neighborhoods called College Park and Idlewild. See Simmons-Henry and Edmisten, *Culture Town*. Personal interview with an unnamed African American orderly at Rex Hospital as quoted in Carter, *Urban Negro*, 147.

A 1924 *Guidebook of Raleigh* explicitly outlined the streetcar routes and their relationship to specific suburbs. Visitors traveling in Raleigh or those planning a trip to the Capital city could learn that you should “Take [the] Country Club car” to get to Hayes Barton, Bloomsbury, or Country Club suburbs. Both Cameron Park residents and those living in College Park needed to “Take the Hillsboro Streetcar” but College Park folks, both students and professors, had to ride the streetcar all the way out to the “Fair Grounds” to get home. Those occupants of the Mordecai suburb had the option of taking the Blount Street or the New Bern Avenue car but they then had to “get off at Person Street and go north.” Those in Boylan Heights had to “Take [the] South Streetcar [and] get off at the end of the car line.”²⁴ It was cheapest to lay track nearest to dense areas of populations, so streetcar suburbs in Raleigh tended to be developed in areas “immediately adjacent” to already built-up areas.²⁵ The language of this guidebook completely erases African American neighborhoods from the landscape. The message was clear: the city and its suburbs were designed to attract whites into the city, not African Americans.

Many of the rental properties evaluated in this project are located within three early twentieth century streetcar suburbs of Raleigh—Glenwood-Brooklyn, Boylan Heights, and Cameron Park—which were all built between 1906 and

²⁴ Nina Holland Covington and the journalism class of Raleigh High School, *Guidebook of Raleigh, N.C. historical and descriptive* (Raleigh, NC: Capital Printing Company, 1924), 22.

²⁵ Hanchett, *Sorting Out the New South City*, 163.

1910.²⁶ These subdivisions were all created to “define economic and social classes by location as well as segregate them by race,” according to historian Charlotte V. Brown.²⁷ Attitudes about race and class, both from the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century were visible on the physical landscape of these neighborhoods. All three subdivisions were carved out of former plantation lands held by important, wealthy, white Raleigh families. Glenwood grew out of Mordecai and Devereux properties while Cameron Park came from the Cameron plantation and Boylan Heights grew out of Boylan land linked to the Joel Lane plantation upon which the colonial town of Raleigh was originally founded. The sloping streets and curves of the hilly landscape potentially reflected an agrarian; slave past while their close proximity to the city gave them an urban character.²⁸ However, these developments were also meant as a response to the rapid modernization of the South and the racial, social, and economic consequences of those changes. As Brown maintains,

²⁶ In many ways, Glenwood, Boylan-Heights, and Cameron Park all looked alike. Characterized by narrow, deep lots, service alleys, sidewalks, shaded spaces in the back yards, and park spaces for residents of both Cameron Park and Boylan Heights, the homes in these neighborhoods were built primarily between the years 1907 and 1930. All wood-framed and wood-sided, the research of architectural historian Charlotte V. Brown establishes that these single-family or multiple family homes were bought and owner-occupied, or rented out to tenants. Boylan Heights was located southwest of downtown and dominated by early twentieth century homes in popular 1910s and 1920s architectural styles such as Neoclassical Revival, Neocolonial, and California bungalows. The aesthetics of Queen Anne, Colonial, bungalows, or combinations of these architectural styles dominated the landscape and provided housing for those new to Raleigh, new to urban living, and new to the wealth of lower middle-class and middle-class prosperity. See Brown, “Three Raleigh Suburbs,” 32.

²⁷ Ibid., 31.

²⁸ Ibid., 31-32.

This era of growth also coincided with the rise of the politics of white supremacy, a complex political movement based on racism but also encompassing the conflicts caused by the transformation of a predominantly agrarian society and economy into an urbanizing, industrializing one.²⁹

The modern ideal of the “residence city” was dependent on the principles of racial exclusion and white supremacy. The shift from rural to urban life was eased somewhat, in the minds of whites, by the sorting of neighborhoods by socio-economic and racial factors.

Historian Charlotte Brown has identified three reasons for the timing and location of these new subdivisions in the early twentieth century, based on her research about Raleigh and across the state. Brown writes, “Glenwood, Boylan Heights, and Cameron Park were among Raleigh’s most vivid images of success and stability, providing housing for Raleigh’s newly arrived, newly prosperous, newly urban white population.”³⁰ First, the tradition of single-family dwellings on large lots, even when subdivided over time, was inadequate to deal with the influx of new residents.³¹ As evidence for this, Brown points to the large number of boarding houses which existed in Raleigh. As Table 6 shows below, Raleigh city directories reveal the high rates of boarding house operation discussed by Brown:

²⁹ Ibid., 31.

³⁰ Ibid., 33.

³¹ Ibid.

Table 6. Boarding Houses Operating in Raleigh, 1918-1929

City Directory Year	1918-1919	1919-1920	1921-1922	1922-1923	1923-1924	1924-1925	1925-1926	1926-1927	1927-1928	1928-1929
Boarding houses listed	49	35	28	36	68	92	82	17	29	24

Table 6: This table tracks the number of boarding houses operating in Raleigh over the period from 1918-1929. The years 1918-1923 show a steady business with small fluctuations in working boarding houses, followed by a peak from 1923-1926, and then a sharp decline from 1927 until the end of the decade.

Raleigh showed unusual attachment to her boarding houses. The city clung to this nineteenth century housing pattern for three decades into the twentieth century, despite the competition from suburban housing, apartment houses, and residential or apartment hotels. From 1923 to 1926, the number of boarding houses in Raleigh tripled. *Map C: Boarding house Locations, City of Raleigh* (above) plots the street addresses of Raleigh's boarding houses for each year of the Raleigh city directory published between 1918 and 1929. Each year is signified with a different colored data point on the map. The majority of these boarding houses existed within the parameters of "Downtown." As the decade progressed, the decline in boarding house operation suggests that "modern" Raleigh would be characterized not by the older living pattern of a nineteenth century boarding house specializing in transient populations, but instead, would be symbolized by suburban home life. Downtown seemed to be reserved for the fluctuating rental population and African American residents, while much of the suburbs belonged to the white middle-class.

Boarding houses provided important business opportunities for both women and African Americans in Raleigh. There were a total of 460 boarding houses operating in Raleigh between the years 1918-1929. Running a boarding house was a primarily female occupation. From 1918-1929 the Raleigh *City Directories* listed 261 women as boarding house operators and only eighteen men. 210 women were either married or widowed while only thirteen were unmarried.³² Thirty-four boarding houses were operated by African American men and women during this period.³³ *Map D: African-American Boarding Houses, 1918-1929 City of Raleigh* (above) shows a concentration of black-owned and/or operated boarding house businesses along East Davie Street, East Lenoir Street, and South McDowell Street. Almost all of these African American businesses were located in the southeastern corner of Raleigh. However, when we compare *Maps C* and *D* (above) and the instances of both white-owned and/or operated and African American-owned and/or operated boarding houses, we can see a pattern of white and black businesses existing side-by-side in “Downtown,” suggesting more racial flexibility in housing choices in the city center (similar to the Smokey Hollow example discussed in Chapter 2) when compared to suburban developments.

³² I calculated the number of married or widowed female boarding house operators by counting the number of women who had the designation of “Mrs.” before their name. Those women included in the unmarried calculation specifically had the designation of “Miss” before their name. I did not include those women without a designation of Mrs. or Miss in the statistics here although they were calculated as part of the total.

³³ African Americans were never given the titles of Mrs., Miss, or Mr. in the *City Directories* so it is impossible to determine which were married and which were single from this source. *Raleigh City Directory*, 1918-1929.

Charlotte Brown's research suggests that the new migrants to Raleigh were primarily middle-class and were looking for middle-class housing. As *Map C: Boarding House Locations City of Raleigh* (above) illustrates, numerous boarding houses clustered along the streetcar routes in the immediate downtown area and within the 1914 annexation. However, boarding houses did not continue to expand out into the suburban lands from the 1920 annexation. That is not surprising, as renters and home owners in the suburbs were not the right population for boarding house life. Boarding houses catered to more transient populations such as students and traveling salesmen, who would have conducted themselves primarily in the business and educational districts in the immediate downtown, close to the Capitol.³⁴ The transient nature of boarding house residents, the un-private nature of the common room dining, and the standardization of rooms designed to appeal to a broad clientele potentially conflicted with middle-class notions of modernity and privacy. Owning a single-family house in the suburbs or renting an apartment in one of those homes or in a large apartment house, however, allowed residents an affordable housing choice with middle-class respectability and a privacy that boarding houses could not provide.³⁵

³⁴ However, as *Map C: Boarding House Locations City of Raleigh* indicates, there were very few boarding houses located close to the university. The agricultural university was located on former farmland outside of the city limits. Students may have preferred to stay in town closer to city amusements, eateries, and work opportunities. Forty-one classified advertisements from the sample used in this study make mention of the university "State College."

³⁵ See Cromley, *Alone Together* for a discussion of the associations between multi-family housing and working-class life.

Charlotte Brown also argues that new residents to the city demanded different housing forms to accommodate them. Although Raleigh had some textile mills, it was not a single-industry city like Durham or Winston, both in North Carolina.³⁶ Mill housing provided for mill workers was not the type of housing wanted by the white- and blue-collar workers who moved to Raleigh looking for employment in educational institutions, government, service jobs, or the professions, in contrast to the demand for mill villages and tenant housing in other industry-focused towns in the state.

Primary source evidence from the period supports Brown's argument about housing preferences. In 1926 the *News and Observer* newspaper ran a series of advertisements promoting Raleigh and encouraging investment in the city—both business and residential. One newspaper advertisement in August of that year asked the question, "What is Raleigh's Principal Industry?" and the response of the editors was that, "Raleigh has no principal industry. Its manufactures...none of them is a principal industry in the sense that it dominates, supplying the bulk of Raleigh's payrolls."³⁷ The advertisement

³⁶ By the end of the 1890s there were six cotton mills operating in Raleigh including the Hosiery Yarn Mill (1888), the Caraleigh Cotton Mill (1890), and the Pilot Mill (1893). Once constructed these were operated in tandem with owner-developed employee housing that preservationists such as Linda Harris have labeled as early examples of "tract housing." See Harris et al, *Architectural and Historical Inventory*, 27. The first shipment of spun yarn was shipped from Raleigh to Philadelphia in September 1890 and by October of that year; 1,500 pounds were being produced in Raleigh each day. See Lemmon, "Raleigh Example of New South," 267. Josephus Daniels, editor of the *Daily State Chronicle*, wrote that cotton production, "is evidence of the opening of a new industrial era. It means employment of people and circulation of money. Boom the mills on to colossal success, and may many more follow- all successfully." See Josephus Daniels, Editorial, *Daily State Chronicle*, August 7, 1890.

³⁷ Advertisement, *News and Observer*, August, 1, 1926.

identified state government, education, and the railroad as the largest payrolls in the city. It concluded with an endorsement for settlement and/or investment, “You have the motive force behind Raleigh, the city of homes, a city that is independent of any single industry, a city of good citizenship and friendliness.”³⁸ The phrase “the city of homes” echoes the sentiments of the “residence city.” Raleigh, when viewed as a city of homes, was intended to be a city of homeowners.

Readers of Raleigh’s *News and Observer* newspaper were encouraged to embrace the building boom and “Grow With RALEIGH.” In a June 1926 advertisement, sponsored by “citizens and business men,” the paper listed impressive figures tracing real estate growth in Raleigh. Making a comparison between 1910 and 1925 the advertisement showed the phenomenal increase in “Assessed Value Property,” “Building Permits,” “Building and Loan Resources,” and “Banking Resources” among others. Most important was the sharp increase in Raleigh building permits which were valued at \$352,315 in 1910 but by 1925 the figure had skyrocketed to \$3,502,011.³⁹ Raleigh’s afternoon daily newspaper, the *Raleigh Times*, praised the increase in building, as well, by pointing to directions outside of the city when it published statistics in a February 1925 article. The paper stated that, “development of suburban property into residential tracts with the steady additions to the State properties...account for the healthy

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Advertisement, *News and Observer*, June 13, 1926.

increase in building programs during the past five years.”⁴⁰ The article went a step further and itemized the estimated and actual building receipts in Raleigh and its suburbs over the course of a decade which showed a steady increase in construction:

1914-\$200,000 (estimated)
1915-\$225,000 (estimated)
1916-\$350,000 (estimated)
1917-\$279,220
1918-\$172,805
1919-\$452,769
1920-\$933,792
1921-\$2,132,340
1922-\$2,921,334
1923-\$3,776,420.77
1924-\$4,623,124⁴¹

Raleigh was overflowing with investment, with construction, and with people. This environment proved perfect for the thriving subdivisions which would characterize the architectural growth of the city over the course of the next decade.

Raleigh was indeed growing and Moses Amis described it as “the largest population area between Washington and Atlanta.”⁴² Although census records indicate that both Charlotte and Winston were larger in population in 1910, Amis’ perception is perhaps more important than factual errors as it indicates both the desire for population growth and importance being placed on Raleigh as a

⁴⁰ Editorial, *Raleigh Times*, February 28, 1925.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Amis, *Historical Raleigh* (1902), 174.

leading North Carolina destination and place for permanent settlement.⁴³

Despite this misperception reported by Amis, it is clear from his tally that the town was transitioning to a city, as evidenced by its twenty-eight educational institutions, seven thousand students, five thousand seat auditorium, five residential hotels, fourteen miles of street railway, country club, forty-two newspapers and periodicals, eight banks, and numerous libraries.

The Raleigh Chamber of Commerce tried to capitalize and promote this perception of Raleigh as a key component to a new, industrial, money-making South. As early as 1884, native North Carolinian Walter Hines Page had distinguished between two different types of North Carolina places—sleepy, rural villages and “go-ahead towns” such as Raleigh. In these “go-ahead towns” business, energy, entrepreneurship, money, and a perception of progress flowed.⁴⁴ Raleigh Chamber of Commerce members tried to translate this “go-ahead town” philosophy in a 1923 promotional booklet. City boosters emphasized the city’s primacy, “Modern Raleigh bears with ease and dignity its position as metropolis of the Central South.”⁴⁵ The title page of the booklet, as shown in Figure 10 below, positioned Raleigh as the core of a southern industrial base surrounded by economic and tourist partners including Asheville, North

⁴³ According to the U.S. Census Bureau, in 1910 Charlotte city had a population of 34,014 individuals, while Winston city (what later would become Winston-Salem) had a population of 17,167 individuals. U.S. Census Bureau, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, Volume I: Population General Report and Analysis (Washington, D.C.: Washington Government Printing Office, 1913).

⁴⁴ Nathans, *Quest for Progress*, 45-46.

⁴⁵ MacCarthy, *Raleigh, the historical capital city*, 2.

Carolina; Washington, D.C.; Norfolk, Virginia; Wilmington, North Carolina; Jacksonville, Florida; Atlanta, Georgia; and Pinehurst, North Carolina.

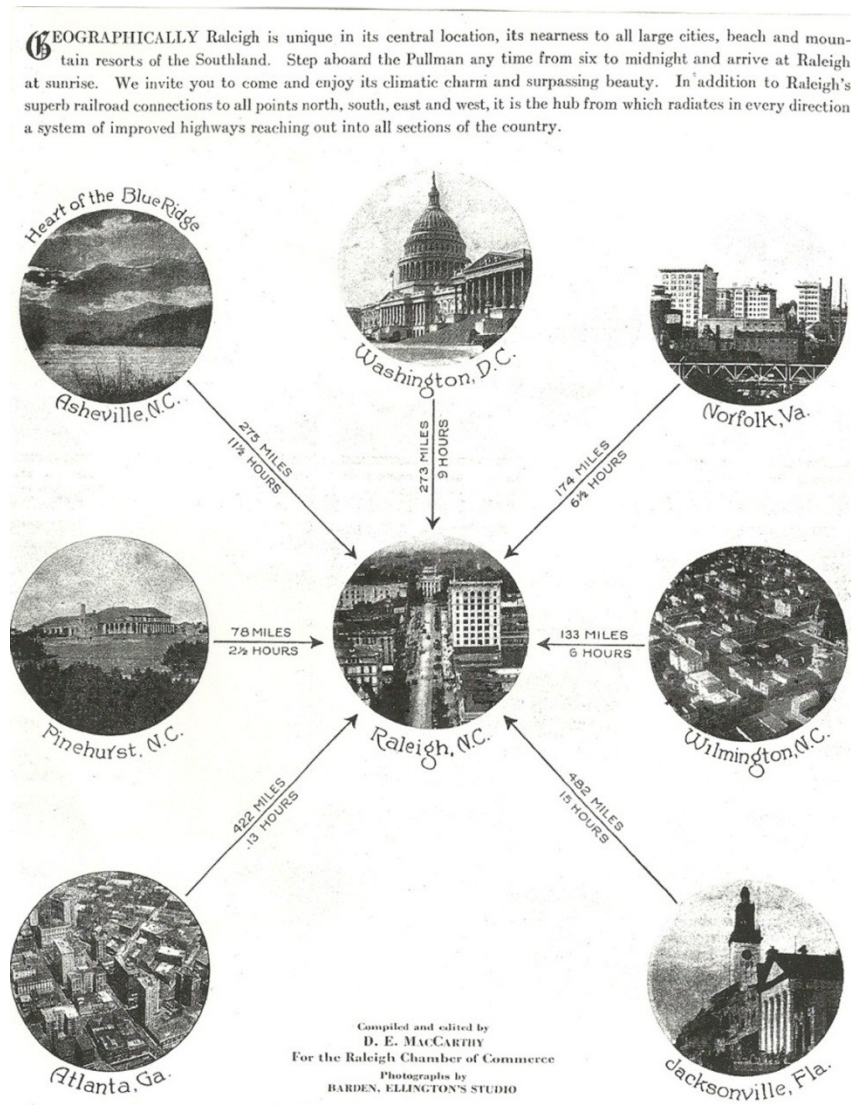


Figure 10. Title Page 1923 Promotional Booklet. The promotional piece above emphasizes Raleigh's central location in the Upper South between Virginia and Florida as well as its proximity to the mountains and the coast. Published in 1923, this print, along with other materials from city boosters potentially attracted new residents to Raleigh. Image courtesy of the North Carolina State Archives.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Ibid., 1.

Selling the Residence City: Spatial Patterns in Raleigh's Housing Market

The “residence city” was constructed to help control the socio-economic composition of Raleigh’s suburbs. As the 1920s progressed, property owners came to rely more and more heavily on the newspaper classifieds to advertise properties in the city. However, the classifieds tell a story not of single-family homeownership within the “residence city,” but one of rental housing. This rental space was in the form of apartments carved out of single-family suburban houses and private apartments in apartment houses.⁴⁷ Classified advertisements reveal “sorting out” techniques employed by homeowners opening up properties for rent in neighborhoods built for racial and income exclusivity. These advertisements also go a long way in helping us to understand how amenities defined a residence as “modern” and how we can use those amenities to track urban spatial patterns throughout the city. The actions by homeowners who rented out portions of their houses and converted single-family homes into multi-family living spaces came into direct conflict with the vision of the “residence city” made up of single-family houses.

Property owners went to great lengths to emphasize the caché of living in certain suburbs or neighborhoods. Phrases like “excellent neighborhood,” “splendid location,” and “established residential area” highlighted the exclusivity

⁴⁷ See Chapter 5: House as Private Residence, House as Income Strategy: The “Suburban Ideal” and the Vernacular Uses of Single-Family Homes of this dissertation for a fieldwork analysis of the subdivision of single-family homes into multi-family living spaces. See Chapter 6: “Dwellings for Rent”: The Rise of the Developer Apartment House of this dissertation for a fieldwork analysis of apartment houses as multi-family living spaces.

of particular residential blocks. Newspaper advertisements also mentioned particularly sought after neighborhoods *by name*. Hayes-Barton, Boylan Heights, Westover, West Raleigh, Bloomsbury Section, Mordecai Section, and Cameron Park used their names as a selling point for residency. These suburban neighborhoods or villages were characterized by “picturesque naturalistic settings, diverse house styles and plans, modern amenities, social and economic homogeneity, and distance between home and work.”⁴⁸ Table 7 below, summarizes the use of location names as a selling point in classified advertisements.

Table 7. Suburban Neighborhoods from Classifieds Sample

Location Name	Times Appearing in <i>News and Observer</i> sample
Boylan Heights	19
Cameron Park	89
Glenwood	10
Hayes-Barton	24
State College	36
West Raleigh	19

Table 7: This table tracks the frequency of suburban neighborhoods mentioned in the classifieds sample *by name*. These figures represent the total number of times a particular name or location appeared in the sample years of 1919, 1922, 1926, and 1929.

Advertisers came to realize the importance of location and could enhance the appeal of their properties simply by referencing a neighborhood, subdivision, or location name in the language of the advertisements. Oftentimes, the mention of a neighborhood name was the only specific information provided in an

⁴⁸ Smith, “The American Idyll,” 21.

advertisement, along with a contact telephone number. These advertisements were not about suburban developers trying to sell single-family houses in specific neighborhoods. These were homeowners who used a particular neighborhood's identity as a strategic marketing tool to attract renters. The use of the subdivision name was sometimes all it took to attract potential renters.

Private homeowners sometimes sought to capitalize on specialty markets, as well, such as the college student rental market. A series of 1926 advertisements suggest a pattern of usage of Murphy beds in apartment housing located in student districts.⁴⁹ Raleigh was peppered with educational institutions of all kinds by the early twentieth century.⁵⁰ As a city with an educational focus, there was also a serious need to provide student and faculty housing. Perhaps

⁴⁹ A Murphy bed was an efficient way to host a guest in the tighter confines of an apartment. The Murphy bed was invented by furniture manufacturer William L. Murphy at the turn of the twentieth century. An apartment dweller himself, Murphy wanted a bed that could be put away during the day for entertaining in the restricted space of a one-bedroom apartment. Housed in frames and functioning by the use of a spring, these beds were built to swing out of the wall and down to the floor for sleeping at night. Come morning, a person could simply flip the bed back into the closet into which the bed was built or against a side wall and shut the door until the Murphy was needed again. The Murphy Wall Bed Company began to manufacture Murphy beds in California beginning in 1900. Eventually, the innovative design, which soared in popularity in the 1920s and 1930s, made its way to the east coast and to North Carolina. There were a variety of designs for the Murphy bed which could make apartment living easier. Some beds came on rollers that could be rolled into a closet or a nook during the day while others were built directly into a closet or chained onto a wall of the interior. See Sears Modern Homes, "Coming Out of the Closet: Murphy Beds and Their Practical Uses," <http://www.searshomes.org/index.php/2011/03/09/coming-out-of-the-closet-murphy-beds-and-their-practical-uses/> (accessed January 15, 2012).

⁵⁰ Raleigh and her suburbs were host to the agricultural university known as State College as well as two important post-emancipation African American educational institutions, Shaw University and Saint Augustine's University. Additionally, there were female colleges run by religious groups such as The Peace Institute (today Peace College), Saint Mary's School, and Meredith College. The Morehead School for Deaf, Dumb, and Blind children was a state institution for all disabled children whose families located to Raleigh to be near their children. And Raleigh also housed business colleges such as King's Business College which would have trained individuals in modern office work skills such as short hand, typing, and basic accounting.

because dormitory construction could not keep up with housing stock demand from students or maybe because (as with today) some students simply preferred to live an off-campus lifestyle, homeowners began to tap into this niche market. Near “State College,” or what is today known as North Carolina State University, a group of three apartments off of Chamberlain Street catered to this student population. The strong similarities in descriptions of individual apartment features and amenities, the appearance of the same telephone number in two of them, and the mention of a Murphy bed in all three apartments suggest that they were all owned or managed by the Howard E. Satterfield, mentioned in the July 28, 1926 example below,

FOR RENT APARTMENT, 113 1/2 Chamberlain St., near State College. Large living room with Murphy bed, dining room, large bedroom, tiled bath, kitchen. Plenty of closet space. Front porch. Attic, basement, with hot air heating plant. Garage. Apartment has just been redecorated. Phone 2455.

FOR RENT: FOUR ROOM MODERN apartment, 222 Chamberlain St. Living room with Murphy bed, bed room, dining alcove with ironing board, kitchen with cabinets, bath, front and rear porch. Heat and cold water furnished. Call 979-R.

FOR RENT APARTMENT 111 1/2 Chamberlain St., near State College, large living room with Murphy bed, dining room, large bed room, tiled bath, kitchen with built-in cabinet and ironing board. Abundant closet space. Private entrance, front porch, attic storage. Basement, hot air heat. Howard E. Satterfield, 201 Groveland Ave. Phone 2455.⁵¹

⁵¹ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, January 24, 1926, May 23, 1926, and July 18, 1926.

Thirty-six advertisements in the sample specifically mention proximity to the “State College” as a means to appeal to potential tenants.

Whether it was landlord seeking a tenant or tenants seeking a rental, being near the college was important to some types of renters. The advertisements featuring Murphy beds, above, suggests a spatial pattern in the city of the new, urban, housing form of the apartment being introduced around southern campuses. Numerous other advertisements targeted “young couples” in the college market, whether homeowners were trying to attract married students or married faculty or employees. In October 1922, for example, an apartment was advertised, “FOR RENT TO COUPLE, TWO UN-furnished rooms, suitable for light housekeeping.”⁵² Near State College. Reasonable. Phone

⁵² “Light housekeeping” was a term that referred to a smaller living space that contained only limited facilities for cooking. Paul Groth defines them as “the cheap apartment-style alternative to rooming house life. They were typically one- or two-room suites it flimsily adapted former houses or apartments, usually in declining neighborhoods.” See Groth, *Living Downtown*, 124. Architectural evidence collected and analyzed in Chapter 5: House as Private Residence, House as Income Strategy: The “Suburban Ideal” and The Vernacular Uses of Single-Family Homes in this dissertation illustrates that these apartments were by no means “flimsy” and the properties, instead of being located in “declining neighborhoods,” were, in fact, located instead within wildly popular, modern, and up and coming suburban developments such as Cameron Park, Hayes Barton, Boylan Heights, and Glenwood. The American Social History Project website by the City University of New York features a photograph of an African American family in Chicago entitled “A Colored Family in a One-Room Light Housekeeping Apartment” from a 1929 PhD dissertation by Evelyn Heacox Wilson at the University of Chicago Library. In the photograph the family is eating a meal at their dining room table while the mother looks on and settles a fussy baby in a crib next to the table. See City University of New York, “American Social History Project,” <http://herb.ashp.cuny.edu/items/show/1633> (accessed November 23, 2011). An article by Eulalie Andreas in *The House Beautiful* entitled, “Apartments for Bachelor Girls,” contains a photograph with a caption that reads “A Room Where Light Housekeeping Does Not Upset the Comfort.” The room is a dining room containing a table with a table cloth and dishes set for a meal, two chairs, and a china cabinet. See Eulalie Andreas, “Apartments for Bachelor Girls,” *The House Beautiful* 32 (November 1912), 169.

1086-R."⁵³ Or, another example, "FOR RENT TO COUPLE- TWO large rooms furnished for housekeeping, gas range, bath, hot water, garage; ideal location; opposite Rick's Hall, State College 22404 Hillsboro St. Phone 935-X," also tried to cater to couples.⁵⁴ Apartments for couples could be spartan and lacking in a lot of extras like in this September advertisement from 1926, "APARTMENT FURNISHED OR UN-furnished to couple, steam heat, near State College. Phone 2352-J."⁵⁵ Or they could be more luxurious, with a number of modern amenities, as in this 1929 advertisement, "THREE R O O M FURNISHED apartment couple; lights, water, garage, separate entrances. Vicinity State College, \$45, 4076-W."⁵⁶ It is evident in the examples that proximity to campus and having a home in a suburb near Hillsboro Street was an important strategy to assist some homeowners in finding tenants for apartment space.

Private firms, not just private homeowners, helped shape niches in Raleigh's housing market as well. In August 1929, the Hornaday and Faucette Reality Company made a direct appeal to students and teachers moving into Raleigh for fall term in this advertisement, "APARTMENTS FOR RENT. We have apartments in—Hillsboro Apartments, Wilmont Apartments, Guirken Apartments, 1107 Mordecai Drive, 537 E. Jones Guilford Apartment. By Sept. 1st, every

⁵³ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, October 15, 1922.

⁵⁴ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, January 24, 1926.

⁵⁵ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, September 12, 1926.

⁵⁶ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, December 22, 1929.

apartment we have will be occupied, now is the time to get located for the winter. HORNADAY AND FAUCETTE, Inc.," which offered several apartment house options for those seeking lodgings.⁵⁷ The company focused on listing the names of apartment houses it owned that were suburban and had proximity to State College.⁵⁸ On *Map E: Raleigh Apartment Houses By Address* below in Figure 11, it is easy to see that State College (indicated by the black flag symbol) was located a considerable distance from downtown.

⁵⁷ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, August 11, 1929.

⁵⁸ See Chapter 6: "Dwellings for Rent": The Rise of the Developer Apartment House of this dissertation for a discussion of Raleigh's apartment houses.

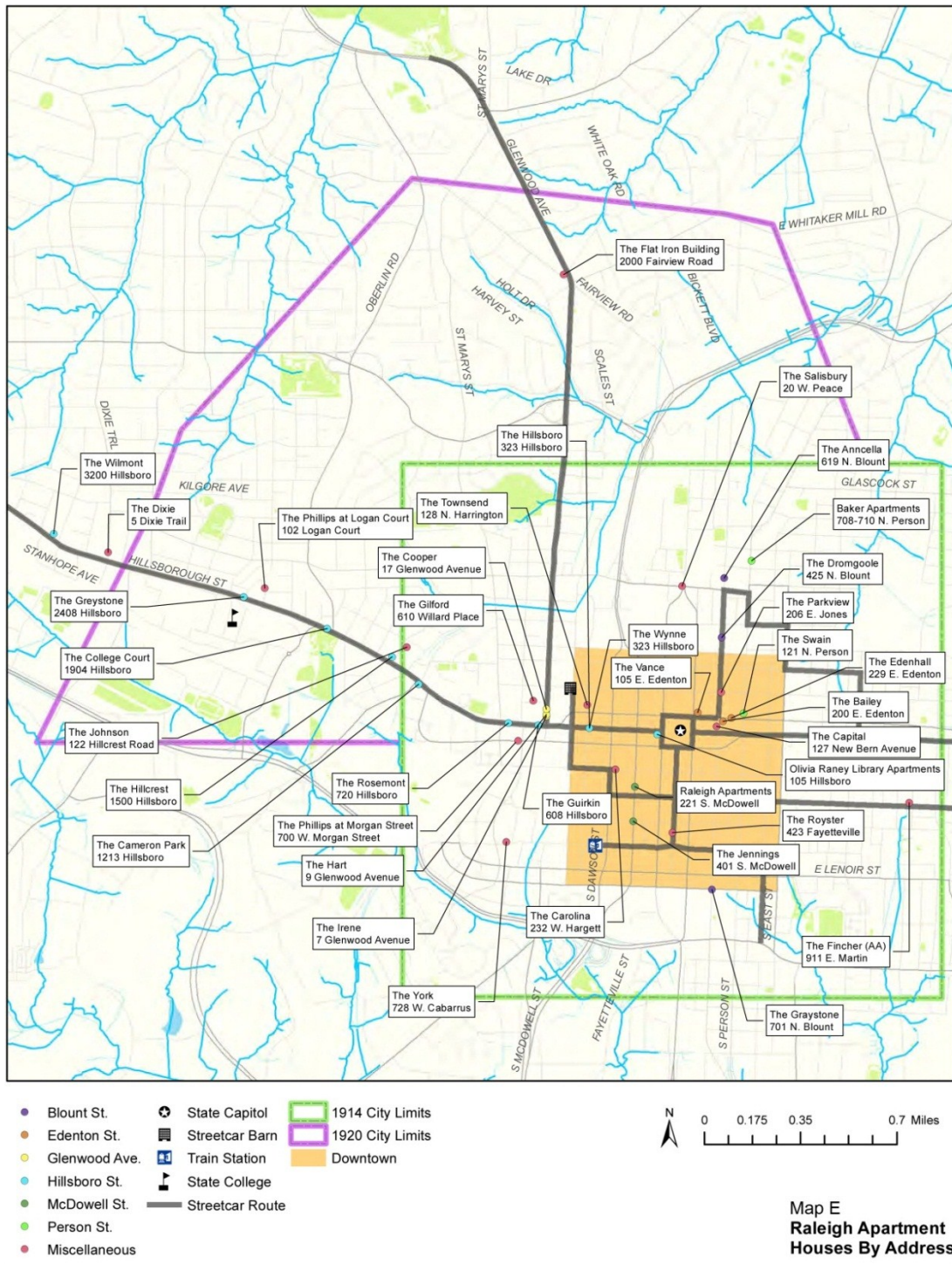


Figure 11. Map E: Raleigh Apartment Houses By Address. Shows the concentration of apartment houses along Blount, Edenton, Hillsboro, McDowell, and Person Streets, as well as Glenwood Avenue with the rest located off of the main thoroughfares.

This distance from the city center would have made living in an apartment house, such as The Vance Apartments or The Capital Apartments, in downtown, much more inconvenient for those who worked and studied at the college. However, tenants living at The Wilmont, The Dixie, The Greystone, The Phillips at Logan Court, The College Court, The Johnson, The Hillcrest, or The Cameron Park Apartments would have had much better access to campus, as seen in *Map E* above.

Questions for private homeowners remained, however, about how to find the “right” kind of tenant. One way in which landlords and property owners tracked down the “right” kind of people for tenancy was through the use of a system of references. Prospective tenants were informed in the classifieds that landlords eager to see required references would greet them at the door when they visited a possible new living location. Tenants potentially had to have names, addresses, phone numbers, and written testimonials from people who could vouch for their character and reliability. References would have helped homeowners screen tenants for racial and economic qualifications and helped to make reassurances about person’s moral character. In the 1926 advertisement below, for example, the future tenant is classified as an “agreeable party” which had a double meaning. The phrase could mean not only someone who agrees to the conditions of residency, rent, etc. but also a person whom the homeowner found “agreeable” to incorporate into their household as a non-family member, "5 ROOM APARTMENT IN NEW home just completed, near State College.

Modern in every appointment. Garage. Will rent reasonable to agreeable party. Address S-601, care News and Observer."⁵⁹ And in this August 1922 advertisement tenants themselves used references as a way to introduce themselves to potential landlords, "WANTED BY AUG. 21 FURNISHED apartment, bedroom, dining room, bath, kitchenette with gas stove. Prefer northern part of city near car line. Two ladies. References exchanged. Address E-302. Care News and Observer."⁶⁰ These two ladies were interested in living in the "northern part of the city" and "near car line" which would be where the suburbs of Glenwood, Brooklyn, and Hayes Barton were located.

The newspaper itself encouraged homeowners interested in finding tenants to be careful to locate "just the right individual." On December 10, 1922, the editors ran an advertisement to encourage folks to use the classifieds for rental purposes. In it, the newspaper presented itself to the reader as a trusted friend and companion. The paper posed a task to the reader,

Locating Just The Right Individual...There's a quick, efficient, sure and inexpensive way to get in touch with just the right individual...To secure a roomer for the vacant room, To locate a boarder or two for the home table...Every day the Want Ads convey the urgent message to just the right individual- they bring together those who have kindred interests and those who are glad to be of mutual advantage to each other. The Want Ads perform many valuable missions. YOU CAN DEPEND ON News and Observer Want Ads FOR RESULTS.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, January 31, 1926.

⁶⁰ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, August 13, 1922.

⁶¹ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, December 10, 1922.

References might be “exchanged,” “provided,” “preferred,” or “required,” as in this 1922 advertisement, "FOR RENT. APARTMENT. THREE furnished rooms and bath, also one furnished room within two blocks of Capitol. References required. Phone 409."⁶² In a modern city with immigrants coming from other places, in a capital adjusting to the free movement of African Americans, and in an urban setting opening up to individuals with rural ways of life, it was important to some private homeowners to have reassurances about a person’s upright nature, occupation, income, and race. Reference letters could help with that service.

A final way to filter applicants for tenancy was through the strategy of pricing. Private homeowners helped to sort Raleigh into class-based districts based on the prices they charged for certain rental units. They had strategies for attracting different kinds of renters into specific neighborhoods which included the price for the rental and the language contained within the classifieds as seen in *Map F: Raleigh Apartment Price List by Private Homeowners* Figure 12 below. On *Map F* we can see data plotted from the 1922, 1926, and 1929 newspaper classifieds.⁶³ This map shows specific properties, differentiated by year, their address, and their corresponding prices. Each property is color-coded with a dot indicating from which city directory year the data was obtained.

⁶² Classifieds, *News and Observer*, October 15, 1922.

⁶³ This map (*Map F*) references properties that are not identified as owned or operated by a real estate company in the classifieds.

The further out along the streetcar route oftentimes indicated less expensive housing options. Along Hillsboro Street, for example, a group of properties priced at \$20.00, \$35.00, \$40.00, and \$45.00 were some distance from downtown but still had access to the car line. Interestingly, only a handful of the properties owned by private homeowners, which were listed by price in the classifieds, were outside of the city limits. Higher prices were charged for apartments and properties with furnishings, with more rooms, and with advantageous locations. For example, an apartment in Boylan Heights with a private bath cost \$50.00 to rent.⁶⁴ Another apartment on Groveland Avenue, in Cameron Park, cost \$65.00 to rent.⁶⁵ One in the Hayes Barton neighborhood that was furnished and had a garage for renters to use cost \$90.00 to rent.⁶⁶ The difference between offering a room or two for rent for between \$15.00 and \$20.00 per month and a larger apartment for between \$50.00 to \$90.00 per month meant the difference in renting to someone with a more fluctuating income, such as a “student” or “business girl,” and renting to a “married couple” or “small family.”⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, June 11, 1922.

⁶⁵ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, August 27, 1922.

⁶⁶ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, January 3, 1926.

⁶⁷ “Business girls preferred” is a phrase I encountered in the classified advertisements of the *News and Observer* newspaper when I was constructing my database. This phrase was used when a landlord was seeking a professional woman as a tenant (as opposed to a family or married couple, for example). The phrase was exclusively used in apartment advertisements that were identified with single-family homes that were converted to multi-family living spaces (discussed in Chapter 5 of this dissertation) downtown and in the suburbs. However, this type of tenant was frequently described in the city directory data for Raleigh. The apartment houses for

Advertisements evaluated in this study rarely specified if a particular rental fee was based on a weekly or monthly basis and there was a wide variety of prices offered by private homeowners. A few properties were offered at such a low cost (such as those priced at \$4.00, \$5.00, \$9.00, or \$10.00, \$12.50, or \$15.00) it is likely that these properties were not apartments, but were boarding houses instead. These lower fares are also visibly concentrated on the map in the boarding house district illustrated in *Maps C* and *D*. But another interesting pattern emerges in that we see some higher-priced properties located along the streetcar line. As seen in *Map F*, above, streetcar properties could run \$45.00, \$55.00, \$60.00, \$65.00, or even \$75.00 if the property was close to downtown. The lower fees for boarding houses, which were typically weekly charges, when compared to the higher charges for apartment rentals within single-family homes, suggests that these fees were on a per month basis. A few advertisements specifically reference the frequency of payment. For example, this February 12, 1922, advertisement reads, "FOR RENT FURNISHED FRONT room suitable for two gentlemen. \$6.00 per month each. No. 5 E. Johnson St," which means that it would have cost \$12.00 per month for two students, friends, cousins, or brothers to share a room with the family on Johnson Street.⁶⁸ Some rental prices were quite high, as indicated in this 1922 advertisement, "FOR RENT,

the city were home to women stenographers, clerks, saleswomen, and secretaries who could easily be classified as "business girls" given their skill level and professional occupations. See *Raleigh City Directory*, 1918-1929.

⁶⁸ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, February 12, 1922.

DECEMBER HILLS-boro street, beautiful bed room, Tile bath, living room connecting Southern exposure, private home to couple. Reference required. \$100.00 a month. Address E-509, care News and Observer."⁶⁹

The Hornaday and Faucette Realty Company owned a variety of properties, both large and small apartment houses, as well as single-family homes which had portions available to rent out as apartment spaces. The company charged anywhere from \$20 to over \$100 for specific properties including apartments, apartments within houses, and entire homes. On *Map G: Hornaday and Faucette Price List for 1926 City of Raleigh* in Figure 13 below, we can see that the more expensive properties (those indicated by the yellow and orange circles) tended to be situated along the streetcar line.⁷⁰ Properties in similar price ranges also tended to be located within the same neighborhoods such as the rentals between \$46 and \$60, located between Bickett Boulevard and Sunset Drive, or the rentals between \$61 and \$100 located along Glenwood Avenue and the cross streets of Fairview Road, Harvey Street, Scales Street, and Hillsboro Street, to cite a few examples. All of the properties renting at less than \$30 (indicated by the blue circle) are located within the immediate

⁶⁹ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, October 15, 1922.

⁷⁰ Rental prices were gathered from the classified advertisements catalogued in the database for this study. See Chapter 1: Introduction of this dissertation for a description of the database. Advertisements by the Hornaday and Faucette Company never indicated whether rental fees were weekly or monthly. However, since boarding houses in the classifieds typically mentioned a weekly rental fee, while apartments located within converted single-family homes sometimes mentioned a monthly rental fee. I presume that these rental fees were intended as monthly fees.

downtown city limits of 1914 and were most likely rental properties located within private homes and not in an apartment house.⁷¹

⁷¹ None of the rental rate data for apartment houses indicates that those types of apartments rented for such a low rate. Although apartment house rental rates were not often mentioned in the classifieds, whenever they were it was always at a higher rate than the \$20-\$30 range. For example, in 1926 the Hornaday and Faucette Company advertised a property at 225 W. Johnson Street for \$20.00, one at 501 Oakwood Avenue for \$30.00, one at 538 E. Jones Street for \$20.00, one at 611 Gaston Street for \$20.00, one at 845 W. Morgan Street for \$30.00, one at the Corner of Blount and Martin for \$25.00, one at Edenton Street for \$30.00, and another on Whitaker Mill Road for \$25.00. In none of those examples is an apartment house mentioned, by name, and none of those addresses or locations corresponds to an apartment house in Raleigh in 1926. Also, in 1926, Hornaday and Faucette advertised specific apartment house rates which were higher than the \$20-\$30 range. For example, The Cooper Apartments were advertised at a rate of \$55-\$65, The Guirkin Apartments were advertised at \$75, and The Logan Court Apartments were advertised at a rate of \$60-\$70. It is likely that the location near the streetcar route, the extensive amenities provided in an apartment house that could share collective utilities and services, and the middle-class target clientele for these properties led to a higher rental rate in Raleigh's housing market. These price lists come from the Classifieds, *News and Observer*, November 28, 1926.

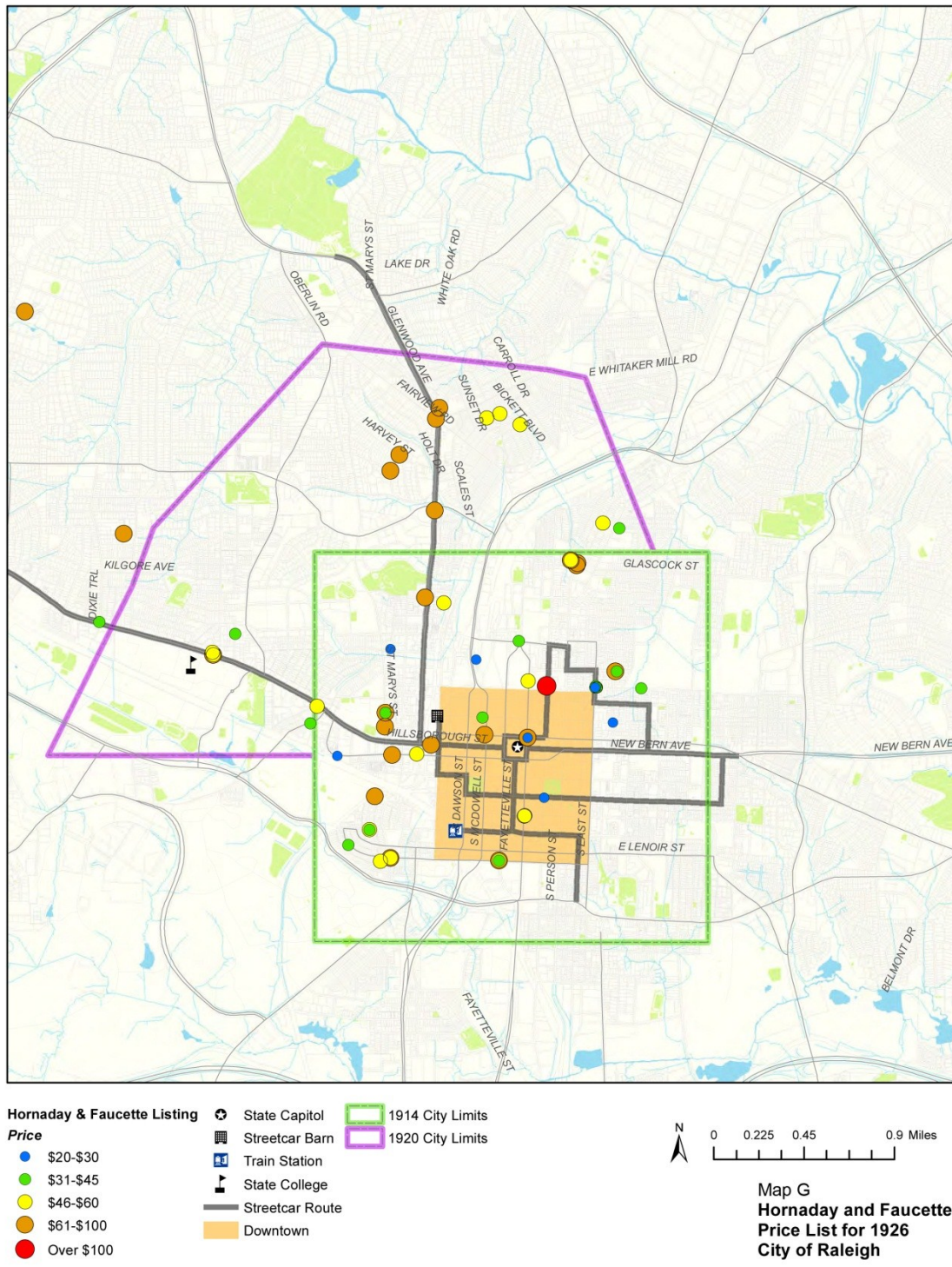


Figure 13. Map G: Hornaday and Faucette Price List. Shows the rental range from \$20 to over \$100 for company-owned properties in 1926.

Another real estate company operating in Raleigh, Thompson & Yarborough Real Estate and Rentals, followed a similar pricing strategy as their competitors Hornaday and Faucette. In their 1929 price lists in the classifieds they have properties ranging from \$20 to over \$100. In *Map H: Thompson and Yarborough Price List for 1929 City of Raleigh* in Figure 14 below, the most expensive properties are, once again, situated along the streetcar route and range from \$31 to \$100 per rental property (as indicated by the green, yellow, and orange circles on the map).⁷² The Thompson Company never referenced specific apartment houses and price list addresses do not correspond to the addresses of Raleigh's apartment houses. This indicates that this company primarily handled rentals of entire houses or portions of houses converted into multi-family living spaces. This is further illustrated on *Map H*, which shows that most of the properties managed by Thompson and Yarborough were located within the 1914 city limits or the original downtown borders and not in the more suburban neighborhoods where apartment houses such as The Phillips, The College Court, and The Hillcrest were located, for example.

⁷² The price list for Thompson & Yarborough Real Estate and Rentals come from the Classifieds, *News and Observer*, August 11, 1929.

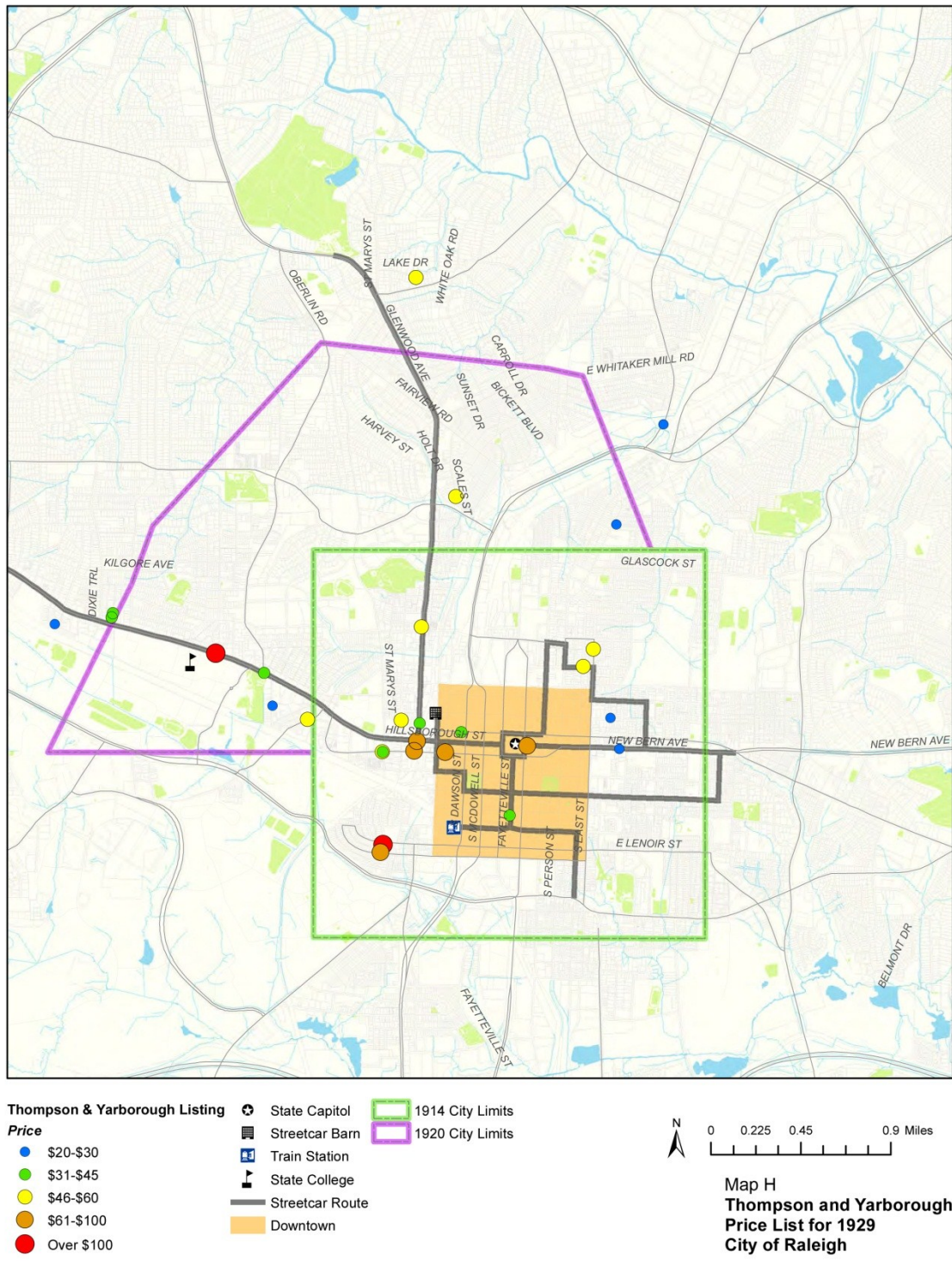


Figure 14. Map H: Thompson and Yarborough Price List. Shows the rental range from \$20 to over \$100 for company-owned properties in 1929.

Conclusion

The Raleigh that emerged in 1929 was not the one that existed at the beginning of the twentieth century. Raleigh city leaders like lawyer Moses Amis, *News and Observer* newspaper editor Josephus Daniels, and suburban developers of places such as the Cameron Park subdivision, imagined a capital city whose fundamental building block was the single-family home. That home could be urban or suburban, but it was first and foremost reserved for white, middle-class people. Those single-family homes and the army of residents that stood behind them were the components of the “residence city.” The symbol of the “residence city” was only temporary, however, as capital investors and real estate developers introduced a new housing form in Raleigh, that of the multi-family apartment house, which directly competed with single-family homes as the residence of choice for primarily white, middle-class professionals. Homeowners and real estate companies in the city and surrounding suburbs would challenge the residence city ideal by offering a competing housing solution in the form of the private apartment, either within a single-family house divided into apartments or with the new architectural form of the apartment house.

Residents did not always cooperate with that vision of the residence city, and the symbolism of the single-family home was more often than not an illusion. What the developers of places like Glenwood-Brooklyn, Cameron Park, Boylan Heights, and Hayes Barton did not realize is that not everyone would choose to own a home; some would choose to rent and not every homeowner would

comply with the vision of city boosters who wanted a Raleigh composed of single-family homes. As a result unique spatial patterns were created across the city. Housing patterns such as the college rental market, boarding house districts (both black and white), streetcar development, and fluctuations in rental rates help us understand the housing market in Raleigh. That market in the 1920s indicates that multi-family housing in Raleigh was not restricted to working-class or African American neighborhoods; instead, it became an important housing choice among the middle-class.

CHAPTER V

HOUSE AS PRIVATE RESIDENCE, HOUSE AS INCOME STRATEGY: THE “SUBURBAN IDEAL” AND THE VERNACULAR USES OF SINGLE-FAMILY HOMES

Introduction

In 1910, Cameron Park developers V.O. Parker and Carey J. Hunter published the *Raleigh Ten Years' Record*. Parker and Hunter were pleased to report the increase in Raleigh's suburban population from fourteen thousand in 1900 to thirty thousand in 1910 and even went as far as to predict perhaps over sixty thousand by 1920. The reasons residents and newcomers felt comfortable moving to places like Cameron Park, according to Parker and Hunter, was that they personally let “people know that we are prepared to take good care of them” and that their company could provide “desirable” homes and properties with “high ideals.” Citing the expertise of developers elsewhere, Parker and Hunter argued that “business men who are acquainted with conditions throughout the South say that we have just began to awaken, that Raleigh is upon the eve of a wonderful growth and development.”¹ Little did Parker and Hunter know that within a decade homeowners in developments across the city would put into play their own ideas about how suburban neighborhood space in Raleigh was to function.

¹ *Raleigh Ten Years' Record*, 3-14.

By the 1920s, the system set in place by Parker and Hunter at Cameron Park had broken down—the “suburban ideal” no longer matched the reality of these neighborhoods. Their goals for the Cameron Park suburb, as well as those of other developers of suburban single-family homes across the city, crumbled in the face of new economic schemes and housing choices put in place by suburban homeowners. The combination of fieldwork photographs, classified advertisements describing living spaces for rent, county tax records, and inventory and nomination forms for the National Register of Historic Places reveal that the homeowners of suburban single-family homes in 1920’s Raleigh chose to break up their single-family homes into separate apartments. Homeowners partially rejected the idyllic image painted by suburban developers in which the suburban home housed a single, middle-class family. They also employed new terminology such as “apartment” or “modern conveniences” in the wording of classified newspaper advertisements. They altered the architecture of their houses to accommodate more individuals and to emphasize privacy. Private homeowners had to compete with the new standards of modernity set by ideas about apartment living, and so they made deliberate efforts to apply new strategies to houses that were originally designed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as single-family suburban dwellings. Raleigh’s housing market was in flux at this time. As discussed in Chapter One, there was a wide variety of multi-family housing choices including private homes, boarding houses, apartment hotels, and apartment houses in Raleigh. Those choices, the ever-

increasing population growth, and the development of new kinds of housing expectations (emphasizing modernity, privacy, and exclusivity) elicited a creative response from homeowners, as they separated portions of their single-family homes into smaller apartments. These apartments were a part of a new lifestyle with a “modern” appeal. Homeowners and renters defined modernity in Raleigh by access to new technologies and the exclusivity of neighborhoods.

As private homeowners used their single-family homes in unexpected ways to make additional income, they redefined multifamily housing choice in the 1920s beyond the scope of the traditional boarding house rental or ownership of a single-family home. Some homeowners rented out single rooms, in the older boarding house pattern of the nineteenth century, while others rented out sets of rooms, grouped together and marketed as an “apartment” to potential tenants. Homeowners applied apartment living and multi-family life to single-family architecture and suburban neighborhood development. City directories reveal that homeowners altered neighborhood densities by bringing more residents into neighborhoods intended to accommodate small families. Additionally, the city directories in tandem with classified advertisements demonstrate that homeowners circumnavigated neighborhood restrictions about income and class by allowing tenants such as “students,” “business girls,” “young married couples,” and others with fluctuating incomes to rent in neighborhoods originally built and marketed towards a strictly middle-class audience. Homeowners used material and physical strategies to reconfigure housing by altering the architecture of their

homes to include “private entrances,” “private porches,” and new amenities such as electricity, running water, and new spaces like kitchenettes. Finally, homeowners helped shift attitudes away from the strictness of homeownership towards renting as a respected and accepted housing choice in spite of suburban developers, who wanted homeownership to dominate neighborhoods. The exclusive focus on apartment buildings and single-family houses in the historiography of housing has led us to overlook the creative ways that entrepreneurially minded single-family homeowners contributed to this housing market for apartment spaces for middle-class clientele.

The Economics of the Subdivided Home

Historian Thomas J. Schlereth has written about the “growing middle-classness” of American everyday life, which happened in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries across the nation. Historian Nell Irvin Painter reminds us of the fluidity of class designations and that “there were working-classes and middle-classes, not only agricultural and industrial but also of many ethnicities and races.”¹ Even as Schlereth emphasizes the importance of those professional classes historians typically label as “middle-class” (such as doctors, lawyers, the clergy, skilled craftsmen, small businessmen, bankers, newspaper editors, and some larger landholders and/or farmers), he is much more concerned about the newer entrants into the middle-class in the twentieth

¹ Nell Irvin Painter, *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877-1919* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987), Introduction, xxiv.

century. Schlereth writes about white-collar managers, the civil service, sales staff, and factory supervisors who grew in ranks with the mass consumer society of the first decades of the century. However, he warns against too sharp of a focus on the leadership of the middle-class—academics, engineers, managers, reformers, and other “Progressives.” These leaders were not independent of those below them,

Followers had to come from the white-collar world of office, bureau, and business to forge a new middle-class consensus that admitted newcomers while testing their ethnic, economic, and educational qualifications. The Victorian middle-class coalition imposed its will, often with repressive methods or class confrontations.²

Housing choice was one of the most important means for “testing” a newcomer’s social, racial, and economic qualifications. Since Raleigh was precisely the type of community which lacked a single, dominating industry, it attracted these white-collar professionals to work in educational institutions, business, and government. They were the new entrants into middle-class life and were looking for housing appropriate to those status markers. The type of house you lived in, whether you rented or owned, the socio-economic composition of the neighborhood, and the existence or absence of additional non-family renters within the home all contributed to the image of one’s own “middle-classness.”

The classified advertisement database used in this dissertation identifies eight suburban neighborhoods which were important to Raleigh’s housing market

² Schlereth, *Victorian America*, Introduction, xiv.

in the 1920s. Unlike the first wave of suburban development close to downtown on Blount and Hillsboro Streets, which consisted of grand mansions for the wealthy elites of Raleigh, the second-wave suburbs of the early twentieth century, in particular the 1920s, were targeted specifically for a white, middle-class, and sometimes working-class clientele.³ The majority of extant fieldwork examples of the subdivision of suburban homes in these neighborhoods come primarily from Oakwood, Boylan Heights, and Glenwood. In Table 8 below, each Raleigh suburban neighborhood is listed alongside the dates of its primary development. The architectural styles of houses built within these neighborhoods, discussed in the sections below, reflects this chronology.

Table 8. Suburban Neighborhood Development Dates

Suburban Neighborhood Name	Primary Development Dates
Oakwood	1880-1930
Boylan Heights	1907-1920s
Glenwood-Brooklyn	1907-1951
Cameron Park	1910-1930s
Bloomsbury	1914-mid-twentieth century
Mordecai	1916-1950s
West Raleigh	1920s-1956
Hayes Barton	1920-mid-twentieth century

Table 8: List of the major white, suburban neighborhoods of 1920s Raleigh in chronological order of their development.

³ See Chapter 3: “Let No One Be a Stranger But Once”: the “Suburban Ideal” versus the Suburban Reality, Lifestyle Patterns of Raleigh’s Single-Family Homeowners and Apartment Residents in this dissertation for a discussion of the development of Raleigh’s suburban neighborhoods.

The fieldwork examples from this study are plotted on *Map I: Fieldwork Houses By Suburban Neighborhood* in Figure 15 below.⁴ All of the extant properties listed by street address in the classified database sample have been assigned a number between 1 and 54. On *Map I* these houses have been plotted, by that specific number, to determine, based on street address, in which suburban neighborhood they belong. We can see clear concentrations of the majority of houses being located in Oakwood,⁵ Boylan Heights, and Glenwood, with a few others sprinkled in either other developments or outside of the suburban boundaries of the 1920s on *Map I*.

⁴ Map I: Fieldwork Houses By Suburban Neighborhood is sourced from street addresses gathered from the classifieds database I constructed from *News and Observer* housing advertisements from 1919, 1922, 1926, and 1929. See Chapter 1: Introduction of this dissertation for a description of the database.

⁵ The high number of extant properties in Oakwood is likely due to the surge of historical interest in houses there in the late 1970s and early 1980s. At that time there was a proposal to bisect the neighborhood with a north-south freeway allowing better access to downtown via a proposed section of the I-440 Beltline. Thankfully, that plan was scrapped due to the efforts of community members and preservationists who called for the maintenance of neighborhood integrity. See David R. Black, Oakwood National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form (Raleigh, NC: National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, 1987). <http://www.rhdc.org/sites/default/files/Oakwood%20NRHD.pdf> (accessed August 20, 2011).

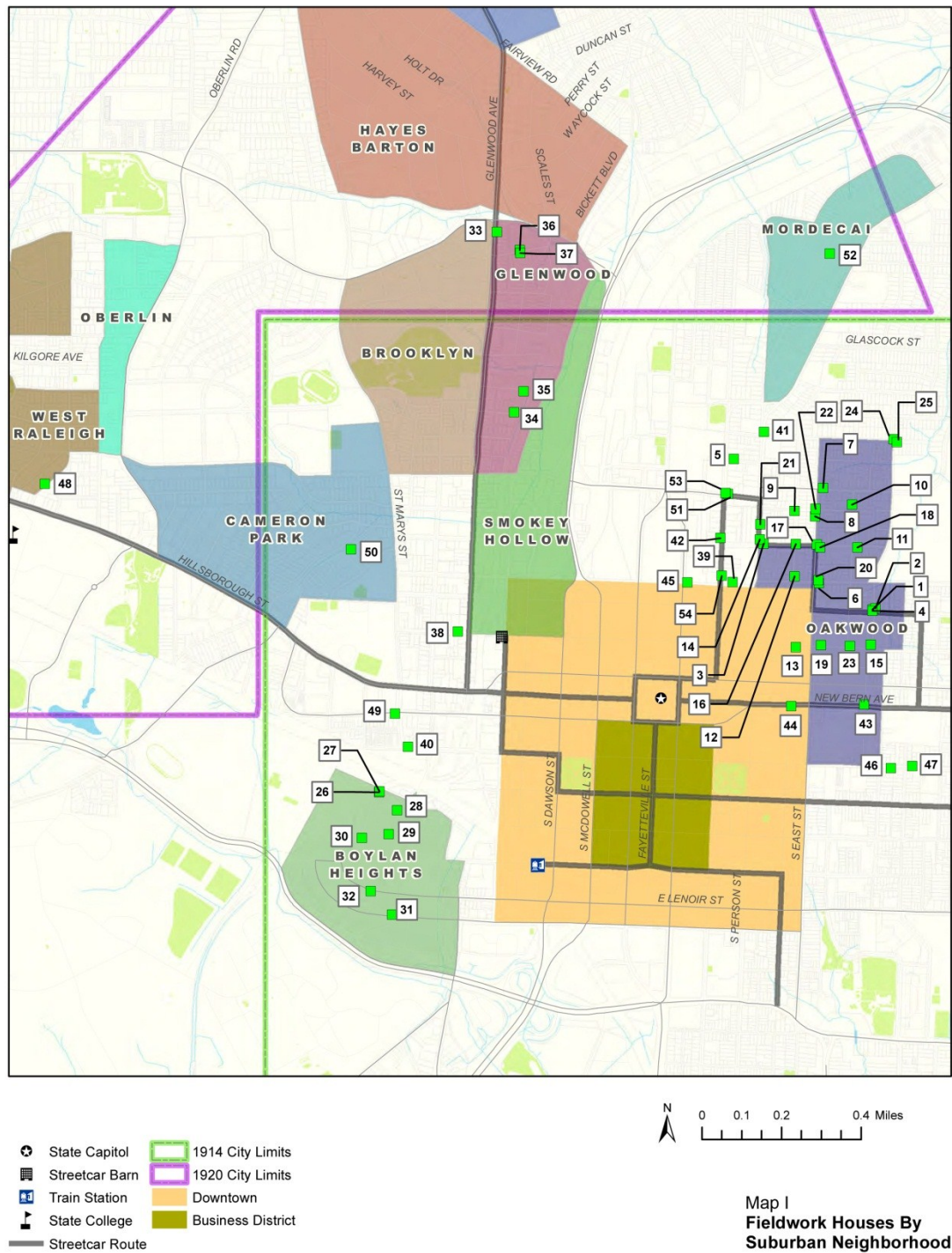


Figure 15. Map I: Fieldwork Houses By Suburban Neighborhood

Table 9 below, lists every extant property from the database by street address, the assigned map number from *Map I*, the suburban neighborhood name, the date each property was built, and the architectural style of each house, as a reference for the discussion of specific fieldwork examples in this chapter.⁶

⁶ Descriptions of the architectural styles of houses in these neighborhoods can be found at the end of this section of the chapter.

Table 9. Single-Family Houses from Fieldwork Sample

Map Number	Street Address	Suburb Name/Build Date	House Style
1	309 Linden Avenue	Oakwood- 1925	Neoclassical/Colonial Revival
2	312 Linden Avenue	Oakwood- 1918	Folk Victorian
3	313 Polk Street	Oakwood- 1921	Neoclassical/Colonial Revival
4	305 Linden Avenue	Oakwood- 1920	Folk Victorian
5	223 E. Pace Street	Falls outside neighborhoods- 1919	Folk Victorian
6	512 Oakwood Avenue	Oakwood- 1903	Folk Victorian/Eastlake Style
7	515 N. Boundary St.	Oakwood- 1925	Folk Victorian/Eastlake Style
8	521. N. East Street	Oakwood-1925	Folk Victorian/Eastlake Style
9	523 N. Bloodworth Street	Falls outside neighborhoods- 1915	Folk Victorian/Eastlake Style
10	603 Elm Street	Oakwood- 1911	Folk Victorian
11	614 Polk Street	Oakwood- 1926	Folk Victorian
12	412 N. Bloodworth Street	Oakwood- 1895	Queen Anne/Folk Victorian
13	424 E. Jones Street	Downtown- 1910	Folk Victorian
14	504 N. Person Street	Oakwood- 1920	Folk Victorian
15	209 Linden Avenue	Oakwood- 1910	Folk Victorian/Eastlake Style
16	403 Polk Street	Oakwood- date unknown	Folk Victorian
17	501 Polk Street	Oakwood- 1906	Folk Victorian
18	510 Polk Street	Oakwood- 1883	Folk Victorian
19	511 E. Jones Street	Oakwood- 1872	French Chateau/Second Empire
20	511 Oakwood Avenue	Oakwood- 1898	Folk Victorian
21	516 N. Person Street	Falls outside neighborhoods- c. 1929	Neoclassical/Colonial Revival with Craftsman details
22	527 N. East Street	Oakwood- 1912	Folk Victorian
23	545 E. Jones Street	Oakwood- 1880	Folk Victorian
24	701 E. Franklin Street	Oakwood- 1921	Bungalow
25	710 E. Franklin Street	Oakwood- c. 1929	Bungalow
26	307 Cutler Street	Boylan Heights- 1917	Bungalow
27	305 Cutler Street	Boylan Heights- 1921	Folk Victorian
28	324 S. Boylan Avenue	Boylan Heights- 1913	Neoclassical/Colonial Revival
29	408 S. Boylan Avenue	Boylan Heights- 1913	Folk Victorian
30	422 Cutler Street	Boylan Heights- 1917	Folk Victorian
31	802 W. South Street	Boylan Heights- 1925	Neoclassical/Colonial Revival
32	903 W. Lenoir Street	Boylan Heights- 1913	Folk Victorian

Map Number	Street Address	Suburb Name/Build Date	House Style
33	1412 Glenwood Avenue	Glenwood- 1924	Neoclassical/Col. Rev.
34	510 Tilden Street	Glenwood- 1925	Folk Victorian
35	501 Cleveland Street	Glenwood- 1909	Bungalow
36	502 Cole Street	Glenwood- 1920s	4-Square, Bungalow details
37	503 Cole Street	Glenwood- 1922	Craftsman Bungalow
38	628 W. Jones Street	Falls outside neighborhoods- 1906	Folk Victorian
39	219 E. North Street	Downtown- date unknown	Folk Victorian
40	716 W. Hargett Street	Falls outside neighborhoods- c. 1922	Folk Victorian
41	818 N. Person Street	Falls outside neighborhoods- c. 1922	Folk Victorian
42	507 N. Blount Street	Falls outside neighborhoods- 1898	Folk Victorian
43	555 New Bern Avenue	Oakwood- 1910	Neoclassical/Colonial Revival and Folk Victorian
44	412 New Bern Avenue	Downtown- c. 1922	Craftsman
45	111 E. North Street	Downtown- 1923	Neoclassical/Colonial Revival
46	608 E. Hargett Street	Falls outside neighborhoods- c. 1929	Folk Victorian
47	705 E. Hargett Street	Falls outside neighborhoods- c. 1929	Bungalow
48	113 Chamberlain Street	West Raleigh- 1925	Neoclassical/Colonial Revival
49	719 W. Morgan Street	Falls outside neighborhoods- 1920	Neoclassical/Colonial Revival and Folk Victorian
50	314 E. Park Drive	Cameron Park- c. 1926	Neoclassical/Colonial Revival
51	209 E. Peace Street	Falls outside neighborhoods- 1911	Bungalow
52	1306 Mordecai Drive	Mordecai- c. 1926	Transitional-Folk Victorian, 4-Square
53	604 N. Blount Street	Falls outside neighborhoods- 1925	Folk Victorian
54	422 N. Blount Street	Falls outside neighborhoods- 1901	Folk Victorian

Table 9: This table is a companion tool for *Map I: Fieldwork Houses By Suburban Neighborhood* and it traces the address, suburban neighborhood, build date, and architectural style of each extant property used in this study.⁷

⁷ The build date for these houses was determined using a variety of sources. In some cases, I used the tax records for Wake County located under the Search Real Estate page of the

Achieving and maintaining “middle-classness” in the Raleigh suburbs was not easy because the economic status of the American middle-class was precarious in the 1920s. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the nature of the middle-class in America was changing from one based on primarily self-employed entrepreneurs and businessmen to one that consisted also of salaried white-collar workers and women to staff the offices, shops, and businesses of a new consumption-based culture.⁸ Access to education including new business colleges teaching modern skills, primarily to women, such as stenography and typing, as well as universities offering degrees in business, engineering, and accounting helped many male Americans make that leap from working-class to middle-class, but many faltered in that transition, according to historian Lynn Dumenil:

White-collar employees were...A diverse group, they ranged from lowly clerks to relatively powerful managers. The income of most clerical workers, many of whom were women, was not generally

“Tax, Property, and Maps” section located at <http://services.wakegov.com/realestate/>. I also used the National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination forms for Oakwood, Boylan Heights, and Glenwood-Brooklyn. In cases where there was a conflict between the tax records and the nomination form date, I chose the latter. Additionally, for some properties, located outside of the suburban neighborhoods or in “Downtown” I dated them based on a combination of the architectural details and the first appearance of advertisements in the classifieds for those particular properties. See Wake County Real Estate Records, <http://services.wakegov.com/realestate/> (accessed, May 6, 2010). The architectural style for each extant house was determined based on examples from McAlester and McAlester’s standard text on the subject. See Virginia McAlester and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003). I also used the architectural style designations for houses in Oakwood, Boylan Heights, and Glenwood from the National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination forms. I am also indebted to Dr. Patrick Lee Lucas, a professor in the Interior Architecture Department of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, for his help in identifying architectural styles in extant fieldwork houses.

⁸ Lynn Dumenil, *Modern Temper: American Culture and Society in the 1920s* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995), 72.

sufficient to support middle-class standards of living; nonetheless, the President's Research Committee on Recent Social Trends believed that low-level white-collar workers 'are commonly jealous of their status as a part of the middle-class.' More than perception set them apart from the working-class. Better educated than blue-collar workers, they were also more likely to be white and either old stock or the children of European immigrants. Exposure to the public schools and the office undoubtedly familiarized them as well with middle-class aspirations of mobility and consumption. Above this group were the more solidly middle-class- the army of accountants, advertising agents, salesmen, engineers, and managers who constituted the modern corporation hierarchy.⁹

Most folks were not living life in the "roaring twenties" as did Scott and Zelda Fitzgerald or as the images from magazines, literature, and film portrayed. Instead, they were first generation white-collar workers escaping farm or factory for the world of business.

The disparity in income distribution pitted factory workers, farmers, and even white-collar workers against the upper classes.¹⁰ The Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1929 estimated that to live comfortably or maintain a "decent standard of living" a family of four individuals needed to earn \$2,500 annually. In 1929, twenty-seven million American families filed tax returns with the federal government and out of those almost half earned only \$1,500 that year, while another six million families earned less than \$1,000. In this supposed era of

⁹ Dumenil, *Modern Temper*, 74.

¹⁰ Although nationally during the 1920s per capita income rose 37 percent, unemployment remained low, and the cost of living was stable, most of the profits associated with these gains were funneled back into the hands of corporations and not into individual paychecks for workers. See Miller, *New World Coming*, 281-282.

prosperity, more than half of all American families were struggling to reach or maintain middle-class status.¹¹

The single-family homeowner in 1920's Raleigh faced a dilemma between using his or her house as a private residence, on the one hand, while also using the house to generate additional income, on the other. The decision to rent out portions of the house, by an individual homeowner, was not necessarily opportunistic. Many families needed additional incomes from working mothers and adult children and in the form of adding non-family member renters to the family budget. Those homeowners, who chose to live in a portion of their house, while renting out one or more portions of it simultaneously, would have needed to find ways in which to reconcile ideas about the division of the home with middle-class notions of privacy. By capitalizing on the housing demand in Raleigh, such a homeowner could resolve these tensions and achieve the economic rewards inherent in renting property through architectural strategies which could protect and even enhance privacy. In Raleigh, the owners of larger Queen Anne and Folk Victorian-style homes, built during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, in Oakwood and also, newer, early twentieth century, homes built in Boylan Heights and Glenwood, viewed their property as having income potential through providing rental space for non-family members.¹² It was

¹¹ At the same time that many American families struggled in the 1920s, the number of Americans making incomes between \$3,000 and \$5,000 almost tripled between 1927 and 1928 and those making incomes over \$1 million almost doubled. See Miller, *New World Coming*, 282.

¹² Oakwood was Raleigh's first white, middle-class suburb and Glenwood was one of Raleigh's first streetcar suburbs. Boylan Heights was known as the "bungalow suburb" due to the

high number of bungalows in the neighborhood. The Queen Anne style was one of the most popular Victorian house designs of the late nineteenth century through the first two decades of the twentieth century. Queen Anne homes became so very popular at this time that oftentimes, the terms Queen Anne and Victorian are used interchangeably to describe houses in the period. They could be anywhere from 1 to 3 stories high and were characterized primarily by highly decorated surfaces such as fish scale siding, decorative woodwork, patterned masonry, stained glass windows, and spindlework. Queen Anne houses could have towers or turrets and were often asymmetrical with compartmentalized rooms of unusual round or octagonal shape. They usually had wrap-around porches and formal entrance halls. Oftentimes, the roofs are steeply pitched and irregularly shaped with gables. In the early twentieth century the larger houses declined in popularity to be replaced by smaller Queen Anne cottages. The Queen Anne style came to the United States via England where the design flourished between 1860 and 1890. See Antique Home, "Queen Anne Style: The Painted Lady of American Residential Architecture," <http://www.antiquehome.org/Architectural-Style/queen-anne.htm> (accessed May 1, 2012). See also Antique Home, "Queen Anne Style- 1876-1915," <http://www.antiquehomestyle.com/styles/queen-anne.htm> (accessed May 1, 2012). See also McAlester, *Field Guide to American Houses*, 262-264. The "Folk Victorian" style home is one that has Victorian decorative detailing such as spindlework, square porch posts with beveled corners, cornice-line brackets, and a symmetrical façade. Folk Victorians are related to the high style Queen Anne or Italianate houses of the late nineteenth century but are much less elaborate in decoration and more humble in size. The main architectural period for these houses is 1870-1910 in the United States. See McAlester, *Field Guide to American Houses*, 309-310. Houses in Boylan Heights and Glenwood were oftentimes built in styles including the Bungalow, Four Square, and Folk Victorian. A "bungalow" is a general term given to a small to medium sized house built across the United States during the first half of the twentieth century. Unlike previous architectural styles popular in the previous two centuries, the bungalow was the first to migrate not from the East Coast westward but instead from west to east. While there can be a lot of variety in the bungalow aesthetic they are primarily characterized by three features- open floor plans, a low-pitched roof, and large front porches. The bungalow was inspired by summer retreat houses in India known as "Bangla" which were popular during the British occupation of the late nineteenth century. Once architecture magazines, such as *The Craftsman* began to run articles about the use of bungalows as permanent residences they became wildly popular, especially with the introduction of "kit houses" in the bungalow style from companies such as Sears and Aladdin. Bungalows usually had a variety of characteristics such as a gabled or hipped low-pitched roof, deep eaves, exposed rafters, and decorative knee braces. They were rarely built over 1 to 1 ½ stories tall but occasionally a two-story example was built. On the interior bungalows typically had built-in cabinetry, beamed ceilings, and simple wainscot in the dining, living, and bedrooms. The simplified design, smaller interiors, and built in features coupled with the availability of the "kit house" made it an affordable choice for homeowners. Easy access to verandas, porches, and patios would have made it easier to configure private entrances for renters to non-family members. The open floor plans and wide porches of bungalows would have facilitated cross-ventilation making it a practical design choice for steamy southern climates. See Antique Home, "Bungalow Architecture of the 20th Century," <http://www.antiquehome.org/Architectural-Style/bungalow.htm> (accessed May 1, 2012). The American Foursquare is also sometimes called a Prairie Box home and it is characterized by a low-pitched roof, widely overhanging roof eaves, large, square porch supports, and is usually two stories. Unlike a one story bungalow, a Foursquare is usually four rooms over four rooms and thus would be easier to sub-divide into separate apartments on each floor, as opposed to the smaller bungalow. Foursquare houses were popular in the first two decades of the twentieth century. See McAlester, *Field Guide to American Houses*, 439.

important to homeowners to conceal the act of subdividing their houses into rental space. One's reputation of living the life of the "suburban ideal" could be preserved while at the same time extra income helped to perpetuate a consumer product oriented lifestyle.

Subdividing the Houses of Oakwood: Raleigh's First White, Middle-Class Suburban Neighborhood

The historic Oakwood neighborhood is Raleigh's oldest white, middle-class suburb and it was developed between 1880 and 1930. Raleigh's initial suburban development was focused on North Blount Street and Hillsboro Street and catered to a more upper middle-class resident in the late nineteenth century.¹³ Oakwood was different because it attracted primarily "business and political leaders who were involved in Raleigh's recovery and progress following the Civil War."¹⁴ It is different also because of its long development process, which means it contains a combination of late nineteenth century Victorian-era homes as well as later infill houses from the 1920s and 1930s, so it has the most architectural diversity of any of Raleigh's suburban neighborhoods from the 1920s. Oakwood was not developed by a realtor-developer as Cameron Park was developed by V.O. Parker and Carey J. Hunter or as The Capital and The Vance apartment houses were developed by C. V. York and W. B. Drake, Jr.

¹³ Raleigh Historic Development Commission, "The Oakwood Historic District" Report, <http://www.rhdc.org/raleigh-historic-resources/raleigh-historic-districts/oakwood-historic-district> (accessed July 1, 2012).

¹⁴ Black, Oakwood National Register of Historic Places Inventory, <http://www.rhdc.org/sites/default/files/Oakwood%20NRHD.pdf> (accessed August 20, 2011).

Instead, Oakwood developed slowly over time and unlike the other white, middle-class suburban developments in Raleigh, it never had the new architectural form of the apartment house within its borders.

The oldest extant home in the fieldwork sample is the 1872 French Chateau/Second Empire house located at 511 East Jones Street in Oakwood, as seen in Figure 16 below.¹⁵ In 1929, the homeowners at 511 East Jones Street decided to share space in their home with non-family members by renting out a portion of the house as an apartment space. An October 27, 1929, advertisement for this property reads, “TWO ROOMS KITCHENETTE, private bath, unfurnished, heated apartment to couple only, 511 E. Jones St.”¹⁶ The house at 511 East Jones is of Victorian architecture but the use of space by its owners suggests a more modern pattern of living.

¹⁵ The French Chateau or Second Empire style thrived in the United States between 1860 and 1900. It is characterized by a mansard (dual-pitched hipped) roof with dormer windows and decorative brackets under the eaves of the roof. See McAlester, *Field Guide to American Houses*, 241-242.

¹⁶ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, October 27, 1929.



Figure 16. 511 East Jones Street. House built in Oakwood in 1872. Photograph taken by the author on May 24, 2010.

The presence of multiple mailboxes outside the front door, as seen in Figure 17 below, illustrate its use even today as a multi-family living space, while linguistic clues in the advertisement help us to determine that this house was subdivided and not rented out as an entire house. First, the owners chose to use the word “apartment” in the rental language. Numerous advertisements in the 1920s classifieds had whole houses for rent, and they used terms such as “house,” “bungalow,” or “cottage” when specifying a rental based on a house. Second, the size of the house was very large, 3,848 square feet total, but the

owners had only two rooms, a kitchenette, and a private bath to offer tenants suggesting its subdivision into smaller quarters.¹⁷



Figure 17. Front Door of House at 511 East Jones Street. Note the white, painted mailboxes to the right of the door. Photograph taken by the author on May 24, 2010.

The large, rambling floor plans of Victorian-era houses, with their endless sequence of rooms and array of doors, to shut off quarters, and the presence of

¹⁷ See Wake County Real Estate Records, <http://services.wakegov.com/realestate/> (accessed, March 9, 2010) for square footage of extant fieldwork houses. Paul Groth labels smaller kitchens within efficiency apartments as “buffet kitchens” and sees them as early as 1911 in San Francisco. The “kitchenette” became a popular term in the 1920s for a six-foot by eight-foot room which allowed for simple food preparation and capitalized on the new packaged foods available in grocery stores. According to Groth, “Unskilled women working in canneries and food processing plants were doing many of the food preparation steps formerly done in individual kitchens.” See Groth, *Living Downtown*, 86. According to historian Elizabeth Collins Cromley, “Small kitchenettes became popular in apartment hotels and efficiency apartments of the 1910s and 1920s. A kitchenette, sometimes called a buffet kitchen, had small dimensions and reduced counter space, but still supplied a full sink and refrigerator, and a stove, a hot plate, or a warming oven.” See Cromley, *The Food Axis*, 164.

outdated servants' quarters, made the interior subdivision of the home into separate apartments somewhat easier, physically. The higher amount of square footage present in a Victorian home, for example, allowed for more distance between a homeowner's private residence and the rental portion of the home to a non-family member. At the same time, the construction of this type of home oftentimes would have predated the installation of modern utilities such as indoor heat and plumbing that made newer homes more attractive, as was certainly the case at 511 E. Jones Street. The homeowners here had retrofitted the interior of this house with amenities including indoor plumbing and heat. Both a "kitchenette" and a "private bath" required water access inside for the sink and the privy facilities. Finally, the homeowners wanted control over the type of tenants who would live with them, so they specified "couple only." Clearly, they did not want children around and also felt that the apartment space of "two rooms" would only accommodate two people. If these homeowners lived elsewhere and were renting this house out, there would be no need to specify that their tenants not bring children along as it never would have impacted their everyday lives.

The house at 510 Polk Street, in Figure 18 below, in Oakwood is another nineteenth century house, this one a Folk Victorian-style, that was subdivided into apartment space. Although this home is much smaller (only 1,848 square feet) than the one at 511 East Jones Street, above, the Victorian floor plan of a

Folk Victorian house would have ensured that just inside the front door was a central hallway dividing the home into two halves.



Figure 18. 510 Polk Street. House built in Oakwood in 1883. Photograph taken by the author on May 23, 2010.

In Figures 19 and 20, below, we can see additions added to the back of the house that might have accommodated renters in the 1920s.¹⁸ In April 1929, the owners of this house advertised “FOR RENT- FURNISHED APART-ment, 3 rooms, private entrance, garage, 510 Polk St.”¹⁹ Again we see the use of the word “apartment” as opposed to “house,” “cottage,” or “bungalow,” which, at this property, is defined by a space of “three rooms.” The advertisement also

¹⁸ There is no way to determine visually at what point the additions were made to this house. However, that is one of the limitations for using just fieldwork evidence in history. Coupled with the documentary evidence on this property, it is easier to see how it was used as an apartment space in the 1920s so that even if the additions did not exist in 1929, there is another type of source, the newspaper, which suggests apartment usage.

¹⁹ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, April 28, 1929.

emphasizes the fact that this apartment was “furnished.” Furnished apartments would have appealed to a market made up of transient renters because it was easier to move from place to place without the burden of carrying furnishings to new properties. Additionally, not spending money on furnishings made more disposable income available to save for one’s own eventual homeownership.²⁰ Someone renting rather than buying a house would likely have a need of furnishings in an apartment, whereas someone wishing to permanently own a house might have ideas about how to decorate and furnish it to their particular tastes.



Figure 19. Rear Addition, Left, to 510 Polk Street. Photograph taken by the author on May 23, 2010.

²⁰ See Chapter 4: “A Residence City”: *Spatial Patterns in a Modernizing Raleigh* of this dissertation for a discussion of the rental market in Raleigh’s traditional multi-family housing choices.



Figure 20. Rear Addition, Right, to 510 Polk Street. Photograph taken by the author on May 23, 2010.

The homeowners in the advertisement for 510 Polk Street also describe the access to the apartment as having a “private entrance” and that emphasis on privacy is key. Homeowners who were renting portions of their house to non-family members would need to control access to the house and find a way to keep their part of the house separate and thus ensure familial privacy. If a tenant was renting the entire house, there would be no need to spend money in an advertisement emphasizing the private entrance because, as a tenant of an entire house, you would control access to all entrances in and out of the house.

For some homeowners in Oakwood rentals were more akin to the nineteenth century boarding house pattern of renting out a single room rather

than the more modern 1920s pattern of subdividing Victorian-style homes into “apartments.” That was certainly the case for the Folk-Victorian house located at 501 Polk Street, in Figure 21 below. In June 1929, the homeowners of the house at 501 Polk street sought a tenant when they advertised “FURNISHED ROOM TO GENTLE-man, steam heated modern conveniences, on car line. 501 Polk St. Phone 933-W.” This rooming situation would have been attractive to a potential renter because of the modern utilities of the steam heat and telephone as well as access to the car line. On *Map 1* above, we can see that the property at 501 Polk Street (labeled as Number 17 on the map) was indeed directly on the streetcar route that traveled through Oakwood from “Downtown.”



Figure 21. 501 Polk Street. House built in Oakwood in 1906. Photograph taken by the author on May 23, 2010.

Primary source research by historians such Candace M. Volz demonstrates that early twentieth-century houses underwent design alterations connected to changes in domestic life. Modern (as opposed to Victorian) lifestyles were less formal as many homes came to rely less heavily on servants, which was another motivation for renting. The extra space from empty servants' quarters was easier to convert to rental space than perhaps rooms already designated for the family. Reformer Gustav Stickley remarked on the decline of servants in American homes in his 1909 *Catalogue*, stating that, "In these days of difficulties with servants and of inadequate and inexperienced help, more and more women are perforce learning to depend upon themselves to keep the household machinery running smoothly."²¹ New forms of utilities such as heat, electricity, and indoor plumbing meant that homeowners and renters now dealt with public services rather than private labor. As Thomas Schlereth writes, "Water, heat, light, and sewerage became commodities to be purchased rather than to be made or maintained at home."²² Having a "gentleman" rent a room at 501 Polk Street could help pay for the new luxury of "steam heat" in this home. The private entrance, on the side porch of the house, seen in Figure 22 below, could allow the tenant to enter and exit the house at his leisure.²³

²¹ Gustav Stickley, *Catalogue of Craftsman Furniture* (Eastwood, NY: Craftsman Workshops, 1909), 3.

²² Schlereth, "Conduits and Conduct," *American Home Life*, 27.

²³ It is also possible that this entrance was added after 1929, however, the configuration of the porch suggests that the façade of the house is the original one.



Figure 22. Private Entrance to 501 Polk Street. Photograph taken by the author on May 23, 2010.

Owners of Victorian-style homes, like those who occupied the Oakwood property at 209 Linden Avenue below in Figure 23, would have engaged in the technique described by historian Candace Volz whereby homeowners used their houses' historicist architectural style to obscure the technology or "modern amenities" contained within.²⁴ The vernacular functioning of the house at 209

²⁴ Historicist architecture refers to when architects or builders use styles whose inspiration is drawn from the past to construct current buildings. For example, using the Victorian style elements of a tower and gambrel roof on a house that is constructed in the mid-1920s would be historicist architecture. In the 1870s in the United States, as the centennial of the birth of the nation approached, many builders looked backward to Colonial, Federal, and Greek Revival style buildings (for example) as inspiration for the construction of homes in the late 19th century. The popularity of modern, efficient kit houses, bungalows, and four squares in the first half of the 20th was in many ways a rejection of these historicist styles and an attempt to create something new, something different, something truly American in architecture. Historicist architecture copied historic styles on the exterior of a home while the interior might have reflected more modern technology and use of space. See Rachel Carley, *The Visual Dictionary of American Domestic Architecture* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1994). See also Edgar de N. Mayhew and Minor Myers, Jr., *A Documentary History of American Interiors: From the Colonial Era to 1915* (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1980). See also Clifford Edward Clark, Jr., *The American Family Home, 1800-1960* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986).

Linden Avenue in the 1920s was in opposition to the architectural intent. The house is a Folk-Victorian-style home with ornamental details such as fish-scale paneling on the second story. The advertisements for the property at 209 Linden Avenue do not advertise a house for rent rather they single out an apartment space.



Figure 23. 209 Linden Avenue. House built in Oakwood in 1910. Photograph taken by the author on May 24, 2010.

In March 1926 the homeowners stated that they had an, “UFURNISHED APARTMENT three rooms, private bath and entrance. Heat and hot water furnished.”²⁵ The language of the advertisement again emphasizes privacy as a means to separate the homeowner’s family from non-family members. Tenants would have a private bath and private entrance and not one to be shared by the

²⁵ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, March 7, 1926.

homeowner's family. By February of 1929 the homeowners decided to describe the space as a "MODERN, WELL FURNISHED apartment, private bath and entrance; heat and hot water furnished; garage."²⁶ While the exterior of the house is an older, Victorian-style, compared to some of its newer suburban neighbors, the interior sported "modern" utilities such as indoor plumbing and either gas, electric, or steam heat as well as furnishings. This advertisement suggests that by the end of the decade, furnishings had become a new expectation for a "modern" rental situation. The traditional Victorian exterior of 209 Linden Avenue obscures both the modernity within and the existence of renters.

The 1929 advertisement for 209 Linden Avenue mentions a garage, which was most likely located in the back of the home since Oakwood was developed well before the widespread use of automobiles in Raleigh, so a garage would not have been a part of the original design. It is possible that the building was added later and that is why it appears in 1929 and not 1926, or perhaps by 1929 the increased popularity of automobiles made garages an important marketing tool for homeowners to attract new tenants. Historian Patricia M. Tice's research on suburban houses and landscapes in the early twentieth century supports the idea of tensions between historicist architecture and its more modern uses. She writes, "Between late Victorian design and twentieth century reform- whether indoors or out- lay a wide middle ground in which many people combined some

²⁶ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, February 17, 1929.

aspects of the new with the familiar practices of the past.”²⁷ It is not surprising, given the construction date of 1910, that by 1929 this house would maintain a Victorian exterior but also find a way to accommodate a modern technology like an automobile.²⁸

The front prospect of the house shows double entrances for today’s tenants, one for 209 Linden Avenue and one for 211 Linden Avenue. It is possible that the second entrance is the one mentioned in the 1920’s advertisements, as the “private entrance” for renters was later assigned a separate street address. Or perhaps that second door is a modern addition and the “private entrance” in this house, as in many other homes in Raleigh, was located at the back of the home, perhaps as a former servants’ entrance. Construction of a second door would have been a relatively inexpensive way to subdivide the house into two separate households.

Classified advertisements for two additional Oakwood houses built in 1910 and 1920 show evidence of subdivision into apartment spaces via the linguistic choices made by homeowners pitching their properties to potential tenants.²⁹

The houses located at 555 New Bern Avenue (1910) and 504 N. Person Street

²⁷ Patricia M. Tice, “Gardens of Change,” in *American Home Life, 1880-1930: A Social History of Spaces and Services*, eds. Jessica H. Foy and Thomas Schlereth (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1992), 190.

²⁸ See Wake County Real Estate Database, <http://www.wakegov.com/tax/default.htm> (accessed, May 6, 2012) for construction dates.

²⁹ I chose not to include the fieldwork photographs of these two houses because the visual evidence did not add weight in these particular cases to the argument that these homes were subdivided. These twentieth century houses are in either Colonial Revival or Folk Victorian style, so their exteriors are very traditional.

(1920) have advertisements where the owners tried to exercise control over the tenant and the space by describing specific types of tenants, what kind of living situation was to be expected, and what access to amenities they might have. The 1910 house at 555 New Bern Avenue was subdivided into apartment space as early as 1922 when in February an advertisement appeared, “FOR RENT-TWO OR THREE large unfurnished rooms for light housekeeping. Couple without children preferred. Good location. 555 New Bern Avenue.”³⁰ Because this house was to be shared between homeowners and non-family members, it was important to specify who your closest neighbors would be- in this case the owner wanted adults, not children. Additionally, these tenants would be responsible for their own “light housekeeping” meaning that there were no servants to cook or clean the apartment, so tenants would not receive board or linen services. More than likely, the “TWO or THREE” rooms had once been an area for live-in servants when the house was constructed in 1910.³¹ Homeowners at 540 N. Person also wanted adult tenants only. In 1922, they advertised, “FOR RENT-THREE ROOM UN-furnished apartment with private bath to couple.”³² Perhaps, one way to retain privacy for homeowners was to ensure that no prying eyes from curious youngsters could travel from a rental

³⁰ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, February 26, 1922.

³¹ See footnote 54 in Chapter 4: “A Residence City”: Spatial Patterns in a Modernizing Raleigh for information on “light housekeeping.”

³² Classifieds, *News and Observer*, April 2, 1922.

space to a homeowner space. Requesting adults only apply helped make that happen.

One of the things that makes Oakwood a distinctive suburban neighborhood in Raleigh is the lack of any apartment houses. Although the city directories for Raleigh do not include any apartment houses for the neighborhood in the 1920s, I would argue that the 1918 house that stands at 312 Linden Avenue, in Figure 24 below, was a de facto “apartment house” of Oakwood.



Figure 24. 312 Linden Avenue. House built in Oakwood in 1918. Photograph taken by the author on May 24, 2010.

In 1926, two advertisements for the house at 312 Linden Avenue appear for apartment space. In March of that year an advertisement reads, “AN ARTISTICALLY FURNISHED room for gentlemen, private bath with or without board. It has to be seen to be appreciated. 10 minutes walk from Capitol. 312

Linden Ave. Second floor.”³³ Just a few months later, in July, another advertisement appears, this time for the first floor, “FIRST FLOOR, 4-ROOM AND BATH apartment, with porches; everything private. 312 Linden Ave. Ashby Lambert.”³⁴ The visual evidence from the fieldwork photographs confirms the presence of both first and second floor porches, as seen in Figure 24 above, and of a private upstairs entrance on the second floor, as seen in Figure 25 below.



Figure 25. Private Entrance to 312 Linden Avenue. Photograph taken by the author on May 24, 2010.

Private entrances and porches were attractive qualities for any property, and exterior features might help potential tenants to recreate some semblance of

³³ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, March 14, 1926.

³⁴ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, July 25, 1926.

country life. A “shady porch” for rocking in a chair and sipping tea or lemonade, visiting with neighbors after church on Sunday, or for courting your sweetheart after a walk in the park or a visit to the cinema could also attract renters to a rental space. In Kingston Heath’s study of rental housing in New Bedford, Massachusetts, *The Patina of Place*, he argues that porches had cultural meaning and not just architectural significance to tenants. Heath maintains that porches “signaled private ownership, civility, and good taste to the...family that could often only dream of owning a home.”³⁵ Porches were very important to late nineteenth century housing design, “it not only represented healthy communion with nature but also respectable domesticity in American society.” Porches, Heath argues, “laid claim visually to a residential space in a manner more personal than the stoop-and-entry hood of the larger working-class barracks, which in its physical context implied ‘mass’ housing.” Additionally, they “allowed for the visual separation of each floor into private units.”³⁶ By choosing to rent within a property that had a porch or porches, one became part of a middle-class lifestyle, despite any barriers that one’s occupation, education, or income might place on reaching that designation. Electricity made exterior spaces such as outdoor porches, particularly important in hot, southern climates, a full-functioning part of the home. Homeowners could place electric lamps on the

³⁵ Kingston Wm. Heath, *The Patina of Place: The Cultural Weathering of a New England Industrial Landscape*. (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2001), 146.

³⁶ Heath, *Patina of Place*, 146.

porch and make it ideal for socializing or eating during the temperate parts of the year. The use of electric lighting within the home and the use of the porch as a family room, David Nye argues, tended to eliminate the distinctions between private and public spaces which characterized Victorian architectural design and use of space.³⁷

The separation of the house at 312 Linden Avenue into upper and lower floors, each with a private porch, allowed residents of each section of the home access to the benefits of Heath's "respectable domesticity" of middle-class life. This house, built in 1918, shares architectural similarities to the three-decker family dwellings in Heath's study.³⁸ In this case the three decks are reduced to two but the design of the home still allows for the important separation of families by floor while preserving the harmonious image of the single-family home on the exterior. In Heath's research, a different family lived on each floor and at 312 Linden Avenue, a different apartment occupies each floor. It is also unclear that the owner is sharing space in this house, suggesting that it could function as an apartment house. The July 1926 advertisement was placed by Ashby Lambert, a realtor in Raleigh, and not a private homeowner so it may have been a business property and not a private home. Additionally, the "board" offered in the March 1926 advertisement could have been prepared by a domestic servant who may or may not have lived in the house.

³⁷ Nye, *Electrifying America*, 239-255.

³⁸ Heath, *The Patina of Place*.

Exterior porches were key architectural elements of another Oakwood house at 305 Linden Avenue built in 1920, in Figure 26 below.³⁹ Classified advertisements for 305 Linden Avenue suggest it was used as multi-family dwelling. The owners converted several areas of this house into apartment spaces for renters. However, this home was never listed as an “apartment house” or “boarding house” in any year of the Raleigh City Directories from the 1920s. Portions of it may have been reserved for the family members of the homeowners and were not ever intended for the rental housing market.



Figure 26. 305 Linden Avenue. House built in Oakwood in 1920. Photograph taken by the author on July 22, 2012.

A 1926 advertisement for this address reads, "UNFURNISHED APARTMENT, 3 rooms; private bath, entrance and porch. Hot water, furnished.

³⁹ See the Wake County Real Estate Database <http://www.wakegov.com/tax/default.htm> (accessed May 6, 2012) for construction dates.

305 Linden avenue."⁴⁰ Despite the lack of furniture, this apartment could be competitive because of the privacy offered through a separate entrance and a private bathroom, rather than a common one such as would be found in most boarding houses of the time. In the photograph in Figure 27 below, we can see one private entrance off to the right-hand side of the house, protected by an awning where someone could access the house via a short set of steps. The photograph in Figure 26 above, shows private entrances on both the first and second floors on the left-hand side of the home.



Figure 27. Private Entrance to 305 Linden Avenue. Photograph taken by the author on May 24, 2010.

American sitting porches, house historian Thomas J. Schlereth argues, first appeared on southern houses as early as the eighteenth century. These porches served a cultural function as a place to socialize, an environmental

⁴⁰ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, May 9, 1929.

function as a means to cool down houses in subtropical climates, and a utilitarian function as a space to conduct household chores. According to Schlereth,

Porch culture thrived on its public-private nature...[porches] acted as a transitional zone between familial and communal life...For the children, it became a place to play in rainy weather; for young couples, it served as a courting place- its swing, the site of countless marriage proposals; for the old, it offered a hospitable place for watching the world go by.⁴¹

The southern sitting porch at 305 Linden Avenue would have appealed to renters and homeowners alike. Whether one was a “business girl,” “student,” “young couple,” or “gentleman,” a porch offered a space in which to act out the rituals of middle-class sociability.

By 1929, the advertisement for 305 Linden Avenue was specifically for a first floor apartment, "FURNISHED APARTMENT ON ground floor. 4 rooms private bath and entrance."⁴² It is possible that the advertisements in 1926 and 1929 were for the same apartment space and the homeowners decided to furnish it in 1929 to make it more economically competitive. Or another likely possibility is that this home, given its large size, contained more than one apartment space for rental. The presence of double-decker porches would have made it considerably easier to separate the house into owner and renter sections with the private entrances each providing access to private porches.

⁴¹ Schlereth, *Victorian America*, 133-134.

⁴² Classifieds, *News and Observer*, April 14, 1929.

Just down the street from 305 Linden is a neighboring house at 309 Linden Avenue, shown in Figure 28 below, which was listed as having apartment rental space available in both 1926 and 1929 in the *News and Observer* classifieds. In January 1926, an advertisement was placed for an apartment space to let at 309 Linden Avenue which read, "FOR RENT-FURNISHED APART-ment, four rooms and bath. Private entrance and porch. 309 Linden Ave. Phone 1808-J."⁴³ The advertisement emphasized the fact that the apartment was furnished and that it allowed the privacy of a separate entrance with the sociability of an outside porch.



Figure 28. 309 Linden Avenue. House built in Oakwood circa 1925.⁴⁴ Photograph taken by the author on May 24, 2010.

⁴³ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, January 3, 1926.

⁴⁴ The house at 309 Linden Avenue appears in the *News and Observer* classifieds in both 1926 and 1929, however, the Wake County tax records place the house build date at 1930. The appearance of the property in the classifieds prior to 1930, as well as the historicist Colonial Revival architecture, is strong evidence that it was actually built before 1930. See Classifieds, *News and Observer*, January 3, 1926 and see also Classifieds, *News and Observer*, February 3,

In Figure 28 above, we can see that the house looks like a single-family residence on the exterior. To an outside observer walking on the street, the building presents itself as a typical Colonial Revival single-family home from the 1920s with no clear indication that the interior might contain apartment space—the architecture both preserves the suburban ideal of the single-family home while simultaneously obscuring the addition of non-family members in the household. The language of the classified advertisements associated with this property show that a portion of this house was rented out because the homeowners chose to use the word “apartment” instead of “cottage,” “house,” or “bungalow.” The house is two stories, which might have allowed for homeowners to occupy one floor while renters occupied the other floor.

The January 1926 advertisement also emphasizes the “private” entrance and porch. If the owner of this house were interested in renting it out as a whole house, there would be no need to mention the privacy of doors and porches because a renter of the entire house would have the whole house to themselves and not have to share with others. In Figure 29 below, we can see the presence of a private side porch and private entrance to the home (an additional entrance may also have been at the back of the property).

1929 for classified advertisements for this property. See the Wake County Real Estate Database, “Tax, Property, and Maps,” <http://services.wakegov.com/realestate/Building.asp?id=0042631&stype=addr&stnum=309&stname=Linden&locidList=1635&spg=1&cd=01&loc=309++LINDEN+AVE&des=309+LINDEN+AV&pin=1704908524> (accessed September 7, 2012) to check the build date for this property.



Figure 29. Private Porch and Entrance to 309 Linden Avenue. Photograph taken by the author on July 22, 2012.

By February 1929, the advertisement for the home at 309 Linden Avenue also emphasized the property's modern qualities, "MODERN WELL FURNISHED apartment; private bath and entrance; heat and hot water furnished; garage. 309 Linden Ave. Phone 1808-J."⁴⁵ "Modern" and "Private" are the two descriptors that are emphasized by homeowners above all others in the newspaper classifieds.⁴⁶ The use of the term "modern" to describe a home came into more frequent use, according to historian Candace M. Volz, in decorative arts literature beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. By the twentieth century, "modern" was an adjective applied to American home interiors (even if the exterior clung to

⁴⁵ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, February 3, 1929.

⁴⁶ 194 individual advertisements within this project's sample use the word "modern" to describe the housing space while 316 specifically mention the word "private" in the text of the advertisement.

historic architectural styles). According to Volz, “The ‘modern’ home and its furnishings were seen as distinct improvements over their predecessors because of technological developments made possible by the Industrial Revolution.”⁴⁷

Two subdivided single-family homes in Oakwood capitalized on the new technologies of electric lighting, indoor plumbing, and the telephone to attract tenants, rather than private entrances or private porches. The renters at 521 N. East Street and 313 Polk Street likely shared the front porch with the homeowners and had a spare key to the front door. Renters at the East Street house could rent an apartment within the house that had “water and lights furnished.”⁴⁸ This rental space was for an apartment and not the whole house because the advertisement mentioned a “kitchenette” instead of a full scale kitchen and the rental had only three rooms available in a house that is large and two stories high.

Technology historian David Nye has studied the impact of modern utilities such as water, sewerage, and electricity on architecture. In the early twentieth century, electrification led to a reduction in the number of rooms within the home. Rambling Victorian mansions with many, many rooms were no longer cost effective to build. According to Nye, indoor plumbing, electric wiring, and modern kitchens could add anywhere between 25-40 percent to construction costs. By reducing room size and the total number of rooms within a home, houses could

⁴⁷ Volz, “Modern Look,” *American Home Life*, 26-27.

⁴⁸ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, November 7, 1926.

be both modern and economical.⁴⁹ Electricity was better than gas within the home because “it was safer, it was cleaner, and it did not consume oxygen.”⁵⁰ Having amenities was expensive and that consideration factored into motivations for renting out spaces in suburban homes in Raleigh. Homeowners at 521 N. East Street and 313 Polk Street could help pay for utilities by renting out portions of the home for apartment space. The house at 313 Polk Street offered tenants not only electric lighting, but also access to the telephone in an “APARTMENT FOR LIGHT HOUSE-keeping” advertised in 1929.⁵¹ Owning the new technology became more important than maintaining one’s single-family home as a private space.⁵²

⁴⁹ New homes built in the twentieth century which departed from Victorian design eliminated the formal front parlor and combined with the family room to create a more informal “living room.” Gas created distinct odors within a house and required the constant airing out of individual rooms. Victorian houses typically were designed with numerous rooms so each one could be closed off in a rotating pattern. Additionally, heat loss could be minimized with open windows airing out closed off rooms and it protected active gas jets from being blown out by wind if rooms that were airing out were closed off from rooms in current use. Gas heat and light favored this closed floor plan that was so popular in middle-class, post- Civil War urban and suburban architecture. Electricity allowed for more open floor plans. Designers and homeowners could eliminate the heavy, dark fabrics in reds, greens, and browns that had hidden the soot stains produced by the gas burners. Early Twentieth Century homes that were electrified are smaller, with open floor plans, and were painted lighter and brighter colors. See Nye, *Electrifying America*, 253-255.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 243.

⁵¹ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, August 25, 1929.

⁵² The introduction of electricity and the ensuing home appliance craze shifted more cooking, cleaning, and dining responsibilities onto the shoulders of American housewives. These electric appliances, powered by electric motors, became available to most city and suburban dwellers. The U.S. standard of living index included electricity as an expected home utility by 1923. See Cromley, *The Food Axis*, 149. Fewer or no servants eliminated the need for servant’s quarters as a part of the home. A more informal lifestyle meant that the more formal portions of the Victorian home of the late nineteenth century became less important. Rooms formally devoted to music, the conservatory, the library, sitting rooms, butler’s pantries, and servants quarters were not needed by twentieth century families and thus could more easily be converted

Subdividing the Houses of Boylan Heights: The Bungalow Suburb?

When making the case for the preservation of the Boylan Heights neighborhood, the author of the National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form argued that, "It might be said that Boylan Heights is the suburb of the bungalow. The generous numbers of this type in an amazing variety of scale and realization demonstrate its importance as a staple form for [housing] the rising middle-class," in Raleigh.⁵³ And it is absolutely true that when one strolls along the sidewalks and amongst the mature trees of Cutler Street, Boylan Avenue, West South Street, and West Lenoir Street, bungalows abound. However, the architecture of the bungalow style had such strong obstacles to subdivision and I rarely found examples of apartments contained within single-family houses of that style which advertised space for rent in the classifieds.⁵⁴

into apartment space for rentals within larger nineteenth century homes. Twentieth century house plans rarely mentioned these outdated rooms at all. From 1908-1940 the Sears, Roebuck Company only offered four houses with "servants quarters" among its inventory of over 450 house designs. Servants' quarters were only offered in one plan in 1912, two from 1913, and two in 1918 including *The Magnolia*, whose design really straddled two centuries, offered the nineteenth century conventions of servants quarters, servants staircase, and butler's pantry alongside twentieth century spaces like a sun room, sleeping porch, and breakfast nook. See Volz, "Modern Look," *American Home Life*, 27. Instead, newer, more modern rooms such as sun rooms, bathrooms, lavatories, breakfast nooks, dens, living rooms, family rooms, and sleeping porches were new additions to the floor plan. A "lavatory" typically contained only a washbasin or sink and a toilet. It lacked the shower or tub function which distinguished it from a "bathroom."

⁵³ "Boylan Heights National Register of Historic Places Inventory," <http://www.rhdc.org/preservation-services/local-historic-landmark-and-district-designation/raleigh-historic-districts/boylan-heights>. (accessed August 20, 2011). This register has no specific author listed or publication date. It references a previous 1974 nomination form for Boylan Heights and the standard form used for this nomination was one that was updated by the United States Department of the Interior and the National Park Service in 1984. From these two pieces of information, I surmise that it was prepared no earlier than 1984.

⁵⁴ In my fieldwork of extant houses which appeared in the 1920s classifieds of the *News and Observer* sample, I could only find four bungalow-style homes- one in Boylan Heights (307

Most houses in the Boylan Heights sample, in which we have evidence of homeowners subdividing the house into apartment space, are in the Folk Victorian or Colonial Revival style.⁵⁵

A bungalow built in Boylan Heights or Glenwood, for example, represented a newer pattern of living than a Victorian-era home. These houses were based on an open floor plan in which one room flowed into the next and many common rooms such as the living and dining rooms (which replaced the formal parlors, libraries, and dining chambers of the Victorian housing form) lacked doors that one could use to close off sections of the home. Bungalows had a reduced square footage of space. New rooms such as the bathroom were invented to accommodate the utility of indoor plumbing. Space had to be made for pipes and electrical wiring, which lowered ceilings and contracted interior room sizes. These bungalows could offer non-family renters access to modern amenities that were already built into the home. At the same time, the smaller

Cutler Street) which was used as a single-family house rental and not an apartment rental, one in Glenwood at 501 Cleveland Street (discussed in the next section of this chapter), and two that were built outside of suburban development boundaries including a house at 705 East Hargett Street (advertised as a “furnished bedroom” in the boarding house style and not a full apartment, see Classifieds, *News and Observer*, October 27, 1929.) and one at 209 East Peace Street (advertised as a single-family house rental and not an apartment rental). It is possible that the years not covered in my sample (1920-21, 1923-24, 1925, 1927-28) may have contained more evidence that bungalows were used in the same ways that older, late nineteenth century and Early Twentieth Century Folk Victorian houses were, however, I think it is more likely that larger, Foursquare homes (like the ones in this sample at 502 Cole Street in Glenwood or 1306 Mordecai Drive in Mordecai) were used in this manner more frequently.

⁵⁵ Colonial Revival houses were popular between 1880 and 1955 and they are characterized by a protruding front door with a pediment and it is oftentimes supported by columns which form a small entry porch. The front façade of a Colonial Revival home is usually symmetrical and often has double-hung sash windows. Sometimes the term “Neoclassical” is used interchangeably with “Colonial Revival.” See McAlester, *Field Guide to American Houses*, 321-326.

house size and open floor plan of a bungalow made subdivision of the home significantly more challenging than in a Victorian house form. As historian Katherine C. Grier has written:

The typical Victorian house-plan, with its special-use rooms, was actually nothing more than a series of decorated boxes enclosing space. The walls rarely contained ducts, pipes, or wiring. Smaller new houses were one outcome when people opted for expensive, recently-perfected systems of heating and plumbing, cutting into the amount of money they once used for simply enclosing space from the elements in a decorative fashion.⁵⁶

The extant houses in Boylan Heights which appear in the newspaper sample for this project represent a more transitional architecture between the highly decorative Victorian-era styles of the late nineteenth century and the modern, efficient, and tidy bungalows that became so popular in the 1920s and 1930s. Raleigh's traditionally conservative architectural nature and the desire of homeowners in the new suburban neighborhoods to publically affirm their middle-class status, resulted in houses with historicist exteriors (in Folk Victorian or Colonial Revival) and modern interiors as new technologies were introduced and apartment spaces functioned alongside private family spaces in houses designed as single-family dwellings.

Unlike Oakwood, Boylan Heights was developed over a much shorter period of time. The buildings of primary historical significance were built between

⁵⁶ Katherine C. Grier, "The Decline of the Memory Palace: The Parlor After 1890," in *American Home Life, 1880-1930: A Social History of Spaces and Services*, eds. Jessica H. Foy and Thomas Schlereth (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1992), 64.

1907, when lots first went on sale, through the 1920s. Therefore, the architectural diversity of Boylan is lessened, somewhat. A typical, non-bungalow-style house in Boylan Heights is the 1913 Colonial Revival house located at 324 S. Boylan Avenue, seen in Figure 30 below.



Figure 30. 324 South Boylan Avenue. House built in Boylan Heights in 1913. Photograph taken by the author on May 24, 2010.

The fact that 324 South Boylan is a Colonial Revival style home is an important one. Historian Carolyn S. Loeb has researched developer subdivisions in the early twentieth century. In her case studies of developments around the United States, Loeb found that developers who marketed and built the suburbs consciously worked to make sure that the scale and style of houses within a particular suburb should work in to unify the visual impact of that suburb on the

viewer.⁵⁷ In other words, suburbs should create an artificial sense of neighborhood through a reliance on traditional or historicist architectural styles.

A house like the one at 324 S. Boylan “fits in” because it was designed to fit and the suburb as a whole is filled with many houses that rely on the pleasing Folk Victorian or Colonial Revival styles that conceal the modernity inside. Making the interior subdivided into apartments was one way to make modernity. In February 1929, the owners of the house advertised a “THREE OR four room apartment for rent to couple without children.”⁵⁸ The owners of the home specified that the space was not a “room” for rent, like in a boarding house, or a “cottage,” “house,” or “bungalow,” rather it was an “apartment” which could be expanded from three to four rooms, if needed. Here, at 324 S. Boylan we see again the attempt by the homeowner to control the type of tenant by specifying that they would only rent to a “couple without children.” The front of this house is dominated by a wide porch on the bottom and a smaller porch on the second floor, all framed by tremendously oversized columns, seen in Figure 30 above. The columns and protruding door all speak to the Colonial Revival character of the façade. On both the first and second floors are entrances leading out to the porch which could provide separate entrances and privacy for the homeowner and any tenants.

⁵⁷ Carolyn S. Loeb, *Entrepreneurial Vernacular: Developers' Subdivisions in the 1920s* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 181-182.

⁵⁸ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, February 24, 1919.

On the back side of the house, in Figure 31 below, we can see an additional entrance, protected by a small porch on the second floor and one more entrance and a small set of steps on the first floor, which although they appear to be part of a more modern addition than the 1913 original construction date, obscure the back servants' entrance that surely would have existed leading out to the yard on this property.⁵⁹ The porches and private entrances on this house would have provided a way for the homeowners to protect the privacy of their own living space while at the same time incorporating non-family members into the household through a vertical division of the house by stories or using the space front to back to section off spaces.



Figure 31. Back Façade of 324 South Boylan Avenue. Photograph taken by the author on May 24, 2010.

⁵⁹ See the Wake County Real Estate Database, <http://www.wakegov.com/tax/default.htm> (accessed July 14, 2011) for construction dates.

Some houses in Boylan Heights, like the Folk Victorian at 408 S. Boylan Avenue, relied on a boarding house pattern, as the Oakwood house at 501 Polk Street did, by renting out just a room and not an entire apartment to a tenant. The conservative Folk Victorian house design option would have reassured middle-class whites who were looking to invest in the suburb that it was a good idea. As Loeb argues, “The architectural envelope had to reconcile the process of production of the house, its internal arrangements, and the public face that the house presented both to the prospective home buyer and to its neighbors.”⁶⁰ The “envelope” of the Folk Victorian style on the home at 408 S. Boylan Avenue, seen in Figure 32 below, was a traditional choice, a safe choice that helped potential home buyers become willing to move outside of the known confines of the center city and invest in open land in, essentially, the countryside outside of Raleigh. By the same token, the prestige of the Boylan Heights name, the exclusivity of the address in a white, middle-class neighborhood could also attract renters looking for a place to locate but who might not have the funds or the desire to build and buy a home themselves.

⁶⁰ Loeb, *Entrepreneurial Vernacular*, 181.



Figure 32. 408 South Boylan Avenue. House built in Boylan Heights in 1913. Photograph taken by the author on May 23, 2010.

The traditional Folk Victorian “envelope” of the home at 422 Cutler Street, seen in Figure 33 below, obscured both the presence of renters and the modern technologies contained within. Like the homeowners at 324 S. Boylan Avenue, the owners of this house wanted to rent to a “couple” and they offered furnishings, heat, lights, water, and telephone.⁶¹ The house at 422 Cutler would have been highly desirable as an apartment space because it contained all of the latest technologies whereas many houses contained maybe one or two of them. The use of the word “apartment” and the identification, again, of the type of resident desired for this home illustrate its use as an apartment space.

⁶¹ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, December 29, 1929.



Figure 33. 422 Cutler Street. House built in Boylan Heights in 1917. Photograph taken by the author on May 23, 2010.

Additionally, Figure 34 below, shows a separate entrance which may have allowed tenants to access the house without walking through the homeowner's private rooms.



Figure 34. Private Entrance to 422 Cutler Street. Photograph taken by the author on May 23, 2010.

In November 1926, the owners of the house at 305 Cutler Street placed an advertisement which offered “two furnished rooms, bath adjoining, private front entrance.”⁶² Sometimes homeowners did not explicitly use the term “apartment” but indicated that the house was subdivided in other ways, in this case by the mention of a “private front entrance.” By 1929 the “two furnished rooms” had evolved into a “furnished apartment” available for rent.⁶³ This address was “close in” to downtown, meaning within a short walk to the business and retail districts surrounding the Capitol Building. Renters would have the advantages of proximity, furnishings, and well-known suburban name if they chose the house at 305 Cutler. The homeowners might have opted for living on the second floor, as seen in Figure 35 below, (accessed by a back entrance and stairway) while tenants occupied the bottom floor.

⁶² Classifieds, *News and Observer*, November 14, 1926.

⁶³ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, October 6, 1929.



Figure 35. 305 Cutler Street. House built in Boylan Heights in 1921. Photograph taken by the author on May 24, 2010.

The Folk Victorian exterior at 305 Cutler Street, as with many houses in Boylan Heights with apartment space, hid the renters inside while allowing homeowners to maintain their middle-class status through the extra income generated through rental. Using private entrances and private porches, was a way to gain the benefits of a tenant (to help pay for utilities) and at the same time help maintain private space for the homeowner's family.

Subdividing the Houses of Glenwood: A Streetcar Suburb of Raleigh

Glenwood was primarily developed between 1907 and 1951 as a streetcar suburb for working-class and middle-class whites. The importance of the streetcar to the neighborhood is clear when looking at *Map A: Raleigh Suburban*

Neighborhood Locations (in Figure 36 below) where we can see that the streetcar route vertically dissected the older nineteenth century Brooklyn neighborhood and the newly developed Glenwood neighborhood of the early twentieth. The location of the streetcar route was no accident as one of the financiers of the Glenwood Land Company that developed Glenwood, James H. Pou, was a lawyer with business ties to both the Raleigh Electric Company and the Carolina Power and Light Company that built Raleigh's electric streetcar system.⁶⁴ Together, the neighborhoods form the Glenwood-Brooklyn historic district and all of the extant fieldwork examples for this study labeled as "Glenwood" in Table 9 above come from the newer Glenwood side of the district.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ The other developers in the Glenwood Land Company included Albert Murray and William J. Andrews. See J. Daniel Pezzoni, Glenwood-Brooklyn National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form (Raleigh, NC: National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, 2001). <http://www.rhdc.org/sites/default/files/Glenwood-Brooklyn%20NRHD.pdf> (accessed August 20, 2011).

⁶⁵ Raleigh Historic Development Commission, "Glenwood-Brooklyn Historic District" Report, <http://www.rhdc.org/glenwood-brooklyn-historic-district-1> (accessed July 1, 2012).

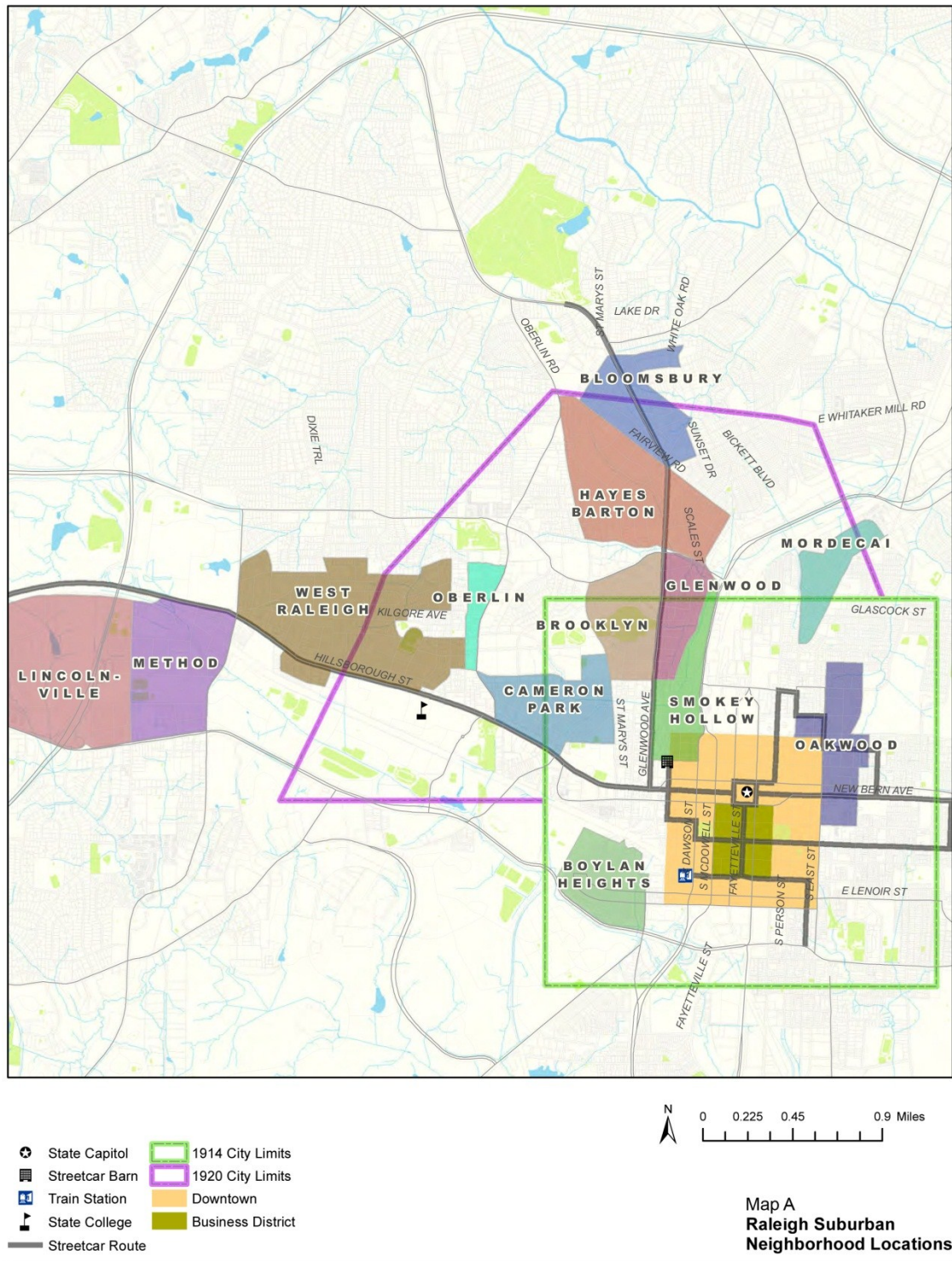


Figure 36. Map A: Raleigh Suburban Neighborhood Locations

Glenwood developed at the same time as Boylan Heights and Cameron Park but was aimed at a different type of customer.⁶⁶ Residents who lived in Glenwood worked for city or state government, were small business owners, salespeople, or railroad employees, or were sometimes white-collar folks.⁶⁷ Glenwood was the first time suburban development happened north of the city of Raleigh, and the suburb led to class and race segregation. Like Boylan Heights and Cameron Park, Glenwood had minimum house costs to keep out the poor and restrictive deed or housing covenants to keep out African Americans.⁶⁸ There are four extant houses from the classified sample for this project which reflect the subdivision of single-family homes into apartment spaces by private homeowners. These houses include properties at 501 Cleveland Street, 502 Cole Street and its neighbor 503 Cole Street, and 1412 Glenwood Avenue.

The generally smaller house sizes in Glenwood and the subdivision of bungalow-style homes into apartment spaces is reflective of the fact that

⁶⁶ Boylan Heights was developed for middle-class residents. Cameron Park was developed for upper middle-class residents.

⁶⁷ According to Daniel Pezzoni, in the National Register form, "At least forty-eight houses were occupied by railroad employees at some point during the period 1909 to 1940. Norfolk Southern and the Seaboard Air Line were the principal railroad employers. Representative railroad occupations included conductor, car inspector, flagman, yard master, engineer, brakeman, claim adjuster, dispatcher, freight agent, car repairman, boilermaker, clerk, telegraph operator, and roundhouse foreman." See Pezzoni, "Glenwood-Brooklyn National Register of Historic Places Inventory," <http://www.rhdc.org/sites/default/files/Glenwood-Brooklyn%20NRHD.pdf> (accessed August 20, 2011).

⁶⁸ The minimum house cost for Glenwood was \$1,500. See Pezzoni, "Glenwood-Brooklyn National Register of Historic Places Inventory," <http://www.rhdc.org/sites/default/files/Glenwood-Brooklyn%20NRHD.pdf> (accessed August 20, 2011).

Glenwood had more working-class residents than did either Oakwood or Boylan Heights. The story-and-a-half Craftsman bungalow at 501 Cleveland Street, seen in Figure 37 below, is known as the Charles H. Wiggins House.



Figure 37. 501 Cleveland Street. House built in Glenwood in 1909. Photograph taken by the author on January 7, 2009.

Wiggins built the house in 1909 and occupied it until about 1930. Wiggins was an “agent” or salesman for the Standard Oil Company, as was typical for Glenwood.⁶⁹ In both 1922 and 1926, Wiggins ran advertisements in the *News and Observer* offering up rental space in his home.⁷⁰ The space was described as “THREE ROOMS, FUR-nished for light housekeeping...near Glenwood car

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ See Classifieds, *News and Observer*, June 25, 1922, August 6, 1922, October 29, 1922, and July 4, 1926.

line.”⁷¹ As with the larger Folk Victorian and Colonial Revival Houses in Oakwood and Boylan Heights, Wiggins used the term “light housekeeping,” indicating that tenants were responsible for their own cooking and cleaning. Additionally, we know from the National Register Nomination and Inventory Form for Glenwood-Brooklyn that Wiggins himself lived at the address. If he did not intend to share it with a renter, there would have been no need to advertise the space in the newspaper. Most bungalows are one story so the unusual presence of a half story on the top of the first floor, seen in Figure 37 above, may have provided enough living space for Wiggins to take in tenants comfortably.

The Cole Street properties, seen in Figures 38 and 39, below, are also Craftsman houses, which were subdivided soon after their construction in the early 1920s. Henry Mallory built the two-story, Foursquare house at 502 Cole Street and he was a railroad brakeman.⁷² The second floor of the Foursquare house, seen in Figure 41 would have made it easier for Mallory to subdivide the house between renters and his family. Mallory sought to control the type of tenant coming into his house when he advertised an “apartment” for rent in his home to a “couple.”⁷³ Mallory built the house in 1922 and had already begun to rent space as early as 1926. This desire to generate extra income is a good

⁷¹ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, October 29, 1922.

⁷² Pezzoni, “Glenwood-Brooklyn National Register of Historic Places Inventory,” <http://www.rhdc.org/sites/default/files/Glenwood-Brooklyn%20NRHD.pdf> (accessed August 20, 2011).

⁷³ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, January 17, 1926.

example of the precarious position of many American families in the 1920s, as discussed in Nathan Miller's book, *New World Coming*.⁷⁴ If Mallory was earning enough income from his railroad job to support his household he would not necessarily have needed the extra income from a rental property.



Figure 38. 502 Cole Street. House built in Glenwood in 1922. Photograph taken by the author on January 7, 2009.

The one-story Craftsman bungalow, located at 503 Cole Street, is the Joseph W. Mooneyham House in Figure 39 below.⁷⁵ Mooneyham was an auto mechanic who built the house until he sold it to Katie Bryan, a clerk with the state

⁷⁴ Miller, *New World Coming*, 281-282.

⁷⁵ This house is tricky to characterize, architecturally speaking. My first instinct was to classify it as a Folk Victorian and not a Craftsman bungalow. However, it is classified as a Craftsman house by Pezzoni who wrote the National Register Nomination for Glenwood-Brooklyn. See Pezzoni, "Glenwood-Brooklyn National Register of Historic Places Inventory," <http://www.rhdc.org/sites/default/files/Glenwood-Brooklyn%20NRHD.pdf> (accessed August 20, 2011).

Auto License Department who lived there from 1925 to 1927.⁷⁶ Although there is no evidence in the sample that Mooneyham ever rented a portion of the house to anyone, Katie Bryan advertised for tenants in 1926. Today, the house at 503 Cole Street is a multi-family dwelling and in January 1926 Bryan placed advertisements that come February 1st “TWO ROOMS, KITCHEN-ette. Partly furnished or unfurnished.”⁷⁷ Bryan, as a single, head of household, would not have had the benefit of a two income budget to keep her house. A low-paying government job could be supplemented with a line of income from a steady rental business. We know that Bryan lived there herself from 1925 to 1927 so the two additional rooms and kitchenette she advertised in 1926 were definitely for a tenant with whom to share the house.



Figure 39. 503 Cole Street. House built in Glenwood in 1922. Photograph taken by the author on January 7, 2009.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, January 24, 1926.

The house at 1412 Glenwood Avenue, in Figure 40 below is one of the few examples of a home owned by a wealthier, white-collar worker in Glenwood. It is the David F. Fort, Jr. House and it was built in 1924. Fort followed the pattern set out in Boylan Heights of using a historicist architectural style, in this case Colonial Revival, probably to set his house apart from the smaller, more architecturally radical bungalows of Wiggins, Mallory, Mooneyham, and Bryan. Fort worked as the Vice-President of Allen Brothers, Inc. which was a real estate development and auction business. The doorway, framed by the curved pediment and columns, Colonial Revival details, helped distinguish Fort's home in the neighborhood and is an excellent example of Loeb's argument about the symbolism of traditional exteriors to the white, middle-class.⁷⁸ But, even Fort was not immune to the financial opportunities that a rental income could provide. In 1926, Fort placed an advertisement in the *News and Observer* that he had "FOR RENT: VERY DESIRABLE 5-room apartment with garage."⁷⁹ Fort sought tenants to share his larger living space in this "apartment" and sought to entice them with a place to store a car. Today, this house is divided into four rental units and the two stories would have made it much easier than a bungalow to subdivide into family member space and non-family member space.

⁷⁸ Loeb, *Entrepreneurial Vernacular*, 181-182.

⁷⁹ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, January 24, 1926.



Figure 40. 1412 Glenwood Avenue. House built in Glenwood in 1924. Photograph taken by the author on January 7, 2009.

Conclusion

The tension between the use of architectural forms of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by homeowners, between tradition and modernity, is documented in this project through modern day photographic evidence of extant properties. While large portions of the architectural record have been destroyed by urban development, there are a small number of single-family homes that do remain intact, and they provide useful examples for developing a material culture analysis in understanding new multi-family housing strategies, which modernized Raleigh in the 1920s. Homeowners used their houses both to attract renters and to obscure their presence from outsiders. By exploiting and sometimes even altering the architecture of a single-family house, a homeowner could resolve the

tension between the wish to maintain the suburban ideal of a single-family lifestyle while at the same time generating desired additional income by incorporating non-family members, in the form of renters, into their households.

The particular language used in the classified advertisements where homeowners specified what kind of tenant they wanted (couple without children, for example), what kind of living situation was to be expected (light housekeeping duties), and what access to amenities they might have (kitchenette versus kitchen) all suggest that homeowners wanted to specifically control tenants who were non-family members living in their house. No matter if a single-family house was located in the older and diverse suburban neighborhood of Oakwood, the firmly middle-class Boylan Heights, or the primarily working-class and white-collar Glenwood, many different kinds of homeowners in Raleigh chose to subdivide their houses and make them a multi-family housing choice.

CHAPTER VI

“DWELLINGS FOR RENT”: THE RISE OF THE DEVELOPER APARTMENT HOUSE

Introduction

On the morning of Thursday, November 16, 1916, Raleigh readers of the *News and Observer* woke to exciting news. In the first few pages of the paper that day was a story describing the construction of The Capital Apartments. Located on the corner of New Bern Avenue and Blount Street, Raleigh's first true apartment house was a five-story, U-shaped building constructed of a distinctive yellow-brick.¹ Building was to commence immediately in order to insure a grand opening in the fall season of 1917. Each level of the five-story building contained six apartments (for a total of thirty units) with both one-bedroom studio apartments and larger two-bedroom apartments. Located catty-cornered from the State Capitol Building, The Capital Apartments were conveniently placed close to the government, education, and business districts of downtown, as well as nearby shopping and eating establishments. The Capital Apartments would

¹ For the purposes of this study, I am defining a “true” apartment house as a building built with the express purpose of containing multi-family housing units or apartments for long term rental. Or as historian Elizabeth Collins Cromley calls them, “built-for-the-purpose apartment houses.” The names and addresses of all apartment houses in this study come from the listings in the Raleigh City Directories from 1917-1929 as well as the classifieds section from the *Raleigh News and Observer* newspaper. Apartment houses contained multiple living units, modern technologies, and were maintained by owners and/or companies who provided services such as garbage disposal, janitorial help, and lawn maintenance. See Cromley, *Alone Together*, Preface, xiii. An article in the *Raleigh News and Observer* described the material as “buff tapestry brick with limestone trimmings.” See Editorial, *News and Observer*, November 16, 1916.

distinguish itself by offering tenants the best and newest technologies, “the bathrooms will be tiled, provided with built-in tubs and every other sanitary appliance that science has revealed” as well as “intercommunicating telephones” and “elevator service” for residents.¹ It was built by real estate investors C. V. York and W. B. Drake, Jr., who initially invested \$100,000 in the business venture.² The work of investors, like York and Drake, changed the look of Raleigh’s “residence city,” an image based on the single-family home, by introducing the multi-family living space known as the “apartment house.”

In post-World War I Raleigh, and throughout the decade of the 1920s, real estate developers reimagined housing options initially downtown and ultimately stretching out into the suburbs. The “residence city” image of suburban, single-family homes, so carefully constructed by business boosters and city officials, was remade by real estate developers who reimagined city and suburban spaces to include the multi-family housing form of the apartment house.³ The introduction of the apartment house offered Raleigh residents a respectable

¹ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, November 16, 1916.

² The project was supervised by a corporation formed with the name Capital Apartments Company. These stockholders who helped to finance the project were capital investors from Raleigh and across the state. The group included C.V. York, M.W. B. Drake, Jr., E.C. Duncan, J.S. Manning, James A. Salter, C.H. Gattis, J.G. Allen, F.A. Fetter, J.J. Towler, J.E. Stevick, Luke Seawell, of Charlotte; B. MacKenzie, J.R. McClamroch and Hunt Brothers, of Greensboro; R.G. Lassiter, V. St. Cloud, James McKimmon, D.J. Thompson, John Askew, O.G. Wrenn and W.H. McElween. C. V. York of Raleigh was the contractor who built The Capital Apartments. See Editorial, *News and Observer*, November 16, 1916.

³ See Chapter 3: “Let No One Be A Stranger But Once”: the “Suburban Ideal” versus the Suburban Reality, Lifestyle Patterns of Raleigh’s Single-Family Homeowners and Apartment Residents in this dissertation for a discussion of the “suburban ideal.” See Chapter 4: “A Residence City”: Spatial Patterns in a Modernizing Raleigh in this dissertation for a discussion of the “residence city.”

housing choice that moved beyond the traditional multi-family options of the boarding house or the apartment hotel. It was a new choice that signaled modernity because it was not built for the same kind of housing market as those traditional multi-family housing forms had been—a market including transients or those with lower incomes. Instead, apartment houses were private homes intended for professionals and nestled within a larger, new building form intended for multiple residents. Those new to middle-class occupations, or those wishing to break into that class, needed a multi-family housing solution that mimicked the respectability and the privacy of a single-family home in an affordable package. The apartment house provided a solution that allowed people who were perhaps not ready or not interested in home ownership to live in the city.⁴ At the same time, the apartment house transformed the suburban ideal into one in which apartments competed with the single-family house, just as suburban entrepreneurs and capital investors in suburban apartment houses competed for customers in Raleigh's housing market.

Apartment house dwellers could take advantage of modern amenities offered by developers in individual, private apartments or flats. Developers could increase the volume of residents by offering a multi-family housing structure within a particular apartment house, as opposed to a single-family structure with

⁴ Apartment house life was also sometimes used as a transitional residence in between being newly arrived in the city and home rental or ownership. For example, in 1922 a family posted an advertisement from The Capital Apartments looking for larger lodgings, "'WANTED BY SEPTEMBER FIRST. four or five room furnished apartment. Address 406 Capital Apts. Or call phone 2202.'" See Classifieds, *News and Observer*, August 27, 1922.

more limited space, and thus alter neighborhood densities. Developers used different architectural strategies in the construction of their apartment houses based on their location. Downtown apartment houses, such as The Capital or The Vance, were constructed in specific architectural styles, built of finer materials, and were generally much larger and grander than suburban apartment houses. Suburban apartment houses, in order perhaps to be more compatible with the built landscape, tended to mimic the architectural features of the single-family houses surrounding them as can be seen in extant buildings in Raleigh such as The Gilford, The Johnson, and The York apartment houses.

It is important, as architectural historian Elizabeth Collins Cromley argues, “to study the American apartment house as a specific building type with a particular architectural history.”⁵ The success or failure of such ventures depended on the ability of developers to reassure potential residents “on such issues as who the neighbors would be, how much privacy could be had under a roof sheltering many families, and what services could be gained by living with others.”⁶ By using historicist architectural styles (with some of the same architectural features important to single-family home construction) and by building apartment houses within existing neighborhoods already designated by class and segregated by race, developers could reassure potential tenants of the safety of their choice to live in a multi-family housing form.

⁵ Cromley, *Alone Together*, Preface, xiii.

⁶ Ibid.

Origins of Apartment House Form

The commonplace function of housing that apartments provide can seem trivial when compared to the meaning of the architecture associated with a Gothic-revival cathedral in New York City or a New Deal-era building constructed in 1930s Chicago. In fact, the comprehensive 1978 *Architectural Survey of Raleigh* singled out just *one* apartment hotel, the Sir Walter Hotel, and *one* apartment building (an unnamed yellow brick building, built c.1917 on New Bern Avenue, which was surely The Capital Apartments).⁷ The revised 1992 *Raleigh Comprehensive Architectural Survey* discusses The Capital Apartments and The Vance Apartments only, certainly not a comprehensive examination of the era of apartment house building which took place in the city in the 1920s.⁸ North Carolina architectural historians Catherine W. Bisher and Michael T. Southern mention only *one* out of the many apartment houses in Raleigh in their *Guide to Historic Architecture of Piedmont North Carolina* when they describe the construction of The Capital Apartments.

But it is *precisely* because of their ability to reveal clues about the mundane daily life of Americans that apartments should be and are in fact worthy of study, both urban and suburban examples. As scholar Elizabeth Hawes writes about the importance of studying apartments, “These buildings are more than mere artifacts, and they are more than metaphors. They tell the story of human

⁷ Harris et al., *Architectural and Historical Inventory*, 115 and 123.

⁸ Ross, “*Raleigh Comprehensive Architectural Survey*.”

use....Together they offer a continuum, an explanation of the process of urbanization in its most intimate terms—of how [people] learned to live in a city, and of how that city grew up.”⁹ And telling the story of human use is what the work of historians *should* be about. This new housing form was distinct from that of other housing solutions such as North Carolina mill villages, new suburban single-family homes, late nineteenth century downtown Victorian mansions, or early twentieth century bungalows which had been subdivided from private houses into multi-family dwellings.¹⁰

American apartments got much of their form and function from European models, as Parisian “French flats” inspired builders and designers in the late nineteenth century, first in the major metropolitan cities of New York, Chicago, Boston, and Washington D.C., which in turn became models for apartments in much smaller housing markets such as Raleigh. These buildings also contradicted long-held patterns of residency linked to life stages, “they crossed the line between a mature mode of dwelling in independent homes and an immature mode of dwelling in group homes.”¹¹ Group living situations such as single-sex college dormitories or factory housing was for young people until they reached maturity and embarked on home-ownership as a newfound sign of

⁹ Elizabeth Hawes, *New York, New York: How the Apartment House Transformed the Life of the City (1869-1930)* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), *Introduction*, xv.

¹⁰ See Chapter 5: House as Private Residence, House as Income Strategy: The “Suburban Ideal” and The Vernacular Uses of Single-family Homes in this dissertation for a discussion of the subdivision of single-family homes into multi-family living spaces in Raleigh.

¹¹ Cromley, *Alone Together*, 2.

adulthood. Traditionally, middle-class Americans lived in single-family homes while the working-classes lived in tenements or factory towns or mill villages.

Elizabeth Hawes argues that,

The settlers of America had brought with them the tradition of the private house and the notion that no one above the laboring class should share the roof over his head. There was little in the short history of the country to challenge this notion. The fact that ancient Indians had built sophisticated communal homes...or that the immigrant poor lived in tenement houses...did not offer valid precedents. From this perspective, an...apartment house was in fact a revolutionary notion, renouncing principles engrained in the American way of life.¹²

Apartments were a new, distinct, modern form of living that asked Americans to change their historical traditions and the values they associated with home life.

The paucity of primary source-based research on apartments leaves us in a vernacular quandary when it comes to defining and labeling these buildings of modern living in Raleigh. The lack of historiographical material on *southern* apartment life forces us to rely on case studies of the northern United States as guides for this type of architectural and urban history. Historian Carolyn Loeb, however, reminds us of the value of extant buildings as evidence for new scholarship.¹³ Even if the paper trail has gone somewhat cold, contemporary fieldwork of remaining structures reveals a host of architectural, urban, and domestic details. While Cromley and Hawes' excellent studies of New York

¹² Hawes, *New York, New York*, 26.

¹³ Loeb, *Entrepreneurial Vernacular*, 3-4.

contain many historical details and arguments that are, in fact, useful in terms of understanding southern apartment life, there are also several circumstances in which national patterns cannot necessarily account for southern apartment development. For example, Cromley and Hawes' evidence of apartment houses comes primarily from luxury buildings that took up entire city blocks and soared into the sky ten, fifteen, twenty or more stories high. Those types of buildings were not constructed in housing markets like that which existed in Raleigh and other North Carolina cities. Additionally, Cromley argues for the importance of spatial separation apartment houses created with lobbies, reception rooms, roof terraces, and common dining rooms which helped accustom middle-class residents to collective living. Raleigh's more modest apartment houses did not typically contain those types of grand architectural features. Cromley and Hawes' buildings are exclusively urban while Raleigh's apartment houses are both urban and suburban. These significant differences are why a study of southern apartment life using current fieldwork of extant examples is so important in understanding modernity in Raleigh. Using an entirely metropolitan-based methodology obscures the local circumstances.

Primary source evidence in this dissertation suggests an entirely different timeline for southern apartment development than that of the northern United States. Raleigh was redesigned in the 1920s into a modern southern city. Hallmarks of southern modernization—automobiles, urban housing forms like apartments, segregation, and business colleges—could be seen across the

cityscape. The historiography of national urbanization is based on case studies of northern cities of the United States such as New York, Chicago, and Boston and are not always fully applicable to a southern model. Architectural development in those cities in the late nineteenth century was not the same as what occurred in a 1920's South impacted by new technologies and the new movement of people in a post-World War I era. As North Carolina architectural historian Catherine W. Bisher has written, "National models for historical and architectural study have focused on the grand works of major architects, the dense concentrations of urban housing, the character of eighteenth and early nineteenth century towns." North Carolina, on the other hand, experienced urbanization and building booms in the twentieth century, so much so "that nearly all the state's urban fabric—commercial, institutional, industrial, and residential" dates from that century.¹⁴ Primary source evidence (in the form of modern-day fieldwork photographs, city directory data, and newspaper classified advertisements) about Raleigh shows that we need to reconceptualize our understanding of the historical development of the suburban South. Apartments were not just downtown living spaces; they were suburban.

Apartment houses blurred the lines between middle-class (usually associated with single-family, private homes) and working-class (usually associated with tenements, factory housing, or mill villages) lifestyles within one architectural form. The patterns of social class, specifically of the middle-class,

¹⁴ Bisher, "Introduction," *Early Twentieth Century Suburbs*, 4.

changed in 1920s Raleigh. A new identity was constructed for middle-class residents based on more flexible housing solutions. Ownership of a single-family home was no longer the primary marker of middle-class identity. A middle-class professional could enjoy the privileges of a higher income and social opportunities while at the same time living in a multi-family dwelling such as an apartment. Unlike single-family homes, but similar to apartment hotels or boarding houses, apartment house life was often targeted towards, not just families, but single people as well.¹⁵ In Gwendolyn Wright's history of American housing she found this strong association of apartment life with groups beyond the traditional nuclear family. Wright maintains that,

Apartment life continued to be associated with young childless couples, bachelors, and working women, widows or widowers; whose space needs were less demanding. "The newly wed and the nearly dead" could contend with the situation more easily.

Apartment houses blurred the lines between the public world of work and the private world of the home because they contained both public spaces and services such as lobbies and garages but they also contained the private space of individual homes. Since they were strategically located both downtown and in the suburbs *and* along streetcar routes, and later automobile thoroughfares, apartment houses allowed for both a home life and access to urban amusements

¹⁵ Sometimes single people living an apartment also sublet their apartment to others such as this advertisement from 1929 which advertised shared space in an apartment in The Capital Apartment building, "FURNISHED ROOM ADJOINING bath. Capital Apartment. Gentlemen. Phone 3955." See Classifieds, *News and Observer*, June 16, 1929.

in the city and the world of work.¹⁶ Apartments were designed specifically to be multi-family dwellings and frequently they were outfitted with the latest technologies or “modern conveniences” to attract residents. They catered to and were designed for a middle-class population coming to terms with blurring the Victorian notions of divisions of public and private space and with creating new living patterns for a modern century.

“Strong Believers” and “Strong Workers”: Building Raleigh’s Downtown Apartment Houses

The development of the apartment house as a new architectural form in Raleigh took place in the first few decades of the twentieth century, but the peak decade of apartment house construction was the 1920s.¹⁷ During the first sixteen years of the 1900s the architectural classification for an “apartment house” was not listed in the *Hill’s City Directory* for Raleigh. Not until the opening of The Capital Apartments in 1917 did “apartment house” become a separate business category in the directory listings. Residents looking for multi-family housing options had a number of choices. Some chose to live in single-family homes converted to multi-family living spaces in downtown and the suburbs,

¹⁶ Cromley, *Alone Together*, 2-4.

¹⁷ All of Raleigh’s apartment houses used in this study were built in the 1920s with the exception of The Capital Apartments (listed in the 1917 city directory), The College Court Apartments (a commercial building with some apartments on the second floor, built in 1904 according to Wake County real estate records), The Raleigh Apartments (a converted apartment hotel, first listed in the city directory in the 1918-1919 issue), The Royster Building (a combination commercial and housing space, built 1918-1919 according to Wake County real estate records), and The Gilford and The York Buildings.

while others resided in residential hotels or in boarding houses at the city center, but by the 1920s a new multi-family dwelling, the apartment house, had been introduced to the city by realtor-developers who formed companies to develop such buildings both downtown and in suburban neighborhoods.¹⁸

The real estate business came into its own in the 1920s in America, and housing became a lucrative business for urban and suburban investors.¹⁹ The appearance in the newspaper classifieds of the *News and Observer* of rental companies specializing in apartments such as Parker-Hunter Realty Company, College Court Apartment Rentals, Hornaday and Faucette, Inc. Realtors, the Raleigh Real Estate and Trust Company, and the T.B. Moseley and Son Company on Fayetteville Street in the middle of the decade, and their prevalence in the latter half of the 1920s, is strong evidence of the commercialization of Raleigh's architecture. Real estate companies supervised the marketing of suburban neighborhoods to potential homebuyers (as seen, for example, in the production of marketing materials such as the Cameron Park promotional brochure discussed previously), the purchasing of lots by those wishing to move to the development, and sometimes helped connect homeowners with building

¹⁸ Between 1911 and 1913, The Raleigh Hotel, a residential hotel, was renovated and converted into The Raleigh Apartments. Located at the corner of McDowell and Martin Streets, overlooking Nash Square, and newly expanded to nine stories, The Raleigh was a popular multi-family housing choice, although it was not originally constructed as such, nor was it as grand, architecturally, as The Capital, Raleigh's first true apartment house. The Raleigh Apartments (formerly The Raleigh Hotel and The Park Hotel) have since been demolished (exact date unknown). See Waugh, *North Carolina's Capital*, 91.

¹⁹ For example, the Parker-Hunter Realty Company, who built Raleigh's Cameron Park suburb, pocketed \$268,000 on the sale of 150 lots in Cameron Park after their initial investment of \$100,000 (not counting the construction of water, sewer, and streets). See Brown, "Cameron Park Neighborhood," in *Early Raleigh Neighborhoods*, 41.

contractors. Companies that specialized in apartment houses gathered investors to finance their construction and market their properties in media campaigns in the local newspaper.²⁰

This commercialization is seen in the reliance of realtor-developers on name recognition of their companies as a marketing strategy for filling apartments with tenants. Over the course of the 1920s it is clear from newspaper advertisements in Raleigh that realtor-developers relied on name recognition of their companies to sell themselves, as well as the names of particular apartment houses. Both the 1926 and the 1929 classified sections of Raleigh's *News and Observer* newspaper are littered with references including The Phillips Apartments, The Logan Court Apartments, The Smith Apartments, The Capital Apartments, The Wilmont Apartments, The Coke Apartments, The High Club Apartments, The Cooper Apartments, The Graystone Apartments, The Hillsboro Street Apartments, The Carolina Apartments, The Edenhall Apartments, The Gilford Apartments, Cary J. Hunter Apartments, The Bailey Apartments, and The Guirken Apartments. This explicit marketing technique of using the names of apartment houses was just as modern as the new profession of the realtor-developer.

As historian Carolyn S. Loeb demonstrates in her work *Entrepreneurial Vernacular*, a new business structure emerged in the United States in the real

²⁰ For example, The Capital Apartments were heavily marketed in the *News and Observer* newspaper as an improvement to downtown Raleigh and as a new housing option for those living in the city center. See Editorial, *News and Observer*, November 16, 1916.

estate market, and apartments became big business for capitalists across the nation. These Raleigh realtor-developers were “strong believers in Raleigh’s great future and strong workers for the benefit of the city.”²¹ It was in fact during the decade of the 1920s that the real estate business became professionalized. An important part of Raleigh’s modernization process was the growth of the realtor-developer’s business. The introduction of this new type of professional shaped the city by expanding Raleigh’s size through suburban development and they also impacted both downtown and the suburbs by introducing the new architectural form of the apartment house.

Hill’s City Directory for Raleigh identifies thirty-two different named apartment buildings in the 1929 volume, but only fourteen are extant today. The importance of the 1920s as a building boom period for apartment house construction is illustrated in *Map J: Raleigh Apartment Houses, Year Built* in Figure 41 below.²² With the exception of The Capital Apartments, The Royster Apartments, The Raleigh Apartments, The College Court Apartments, The Gilford Apartments, and The York Apartments, all of these apartment houses were constructed in the 1920s in Raleigh’s immediate downtown (as shaded on the map) or in the outlying neighborhoods.²³

²¹ *Raleigh Illustrated*, (1910), 21.

²² The construction dates for Raleigh’s Apartment Houses comes from the listings in the city directories. See *Raleigh City Directory*, 1918-1929.

²³ The light gray line with black dashes on *Map J: Raleigh Apartment Houses, Year Built* represents the Raleigh city limits during the period of apartment house construction. The section shaded and labeled “Downtown” marks the initial boundaries as platted in the eighteenth-century

when Raleigh was bounded as a large square by North, South, East, and West streets. The city limits line on this map includes both the 1914 annexation of the city's earliest white suburbs of Mordecai and Oakwood within city limits and the 1920 annexation of Raleigh's white suburban developments to the north and west of the city including Hayes Barton, Glenwood-Brooklyn, Boylan Heights, and Cameron Park, for example. African American suburbs such as Lincolnville and Method (which did not contain apartment houses) were excluded from the city limits while the newest developments in West Raleigh (where The Wilmont Apartments were built in 1926, for example) straddled the line between city and suburb. Although the appearance of most of these apartment houses in the city directories post-dates the 1920 annexation, they were nonetheless built within suburban developments and illustrate how real estate developers broke down the symbol of single-family home as the only housing option for suburban residents. These suburban apartment houses were far enough removed from the city center that streetcar or automobile transportation would have been necessary to travel into and out of downtown, thus rendering them effectively as suburban housing options. See *Map A: Raleigh Suburban Neighborhood Locations* in this dissertation for an illustration of the relationship between suburban neighborhoods and city limits. The Gilford building, constructed in 1901, was not listed as an "apartment house" in the *Hill's City Directory* until 1928, suggesting that it may have been used as something else such as a private home or boarding house before it was converted to apartment units. The York building, constructed in 1910, was listed as an "apartment house" as early as the 1919-1920 issue of the *Hill's City Directory*. However, at that time no tenants were listed. Not until the 1927 city directory issue are tenants specified for The York building. See *Raleigh City Directory*, 1919-1920, 1927, and 1928.

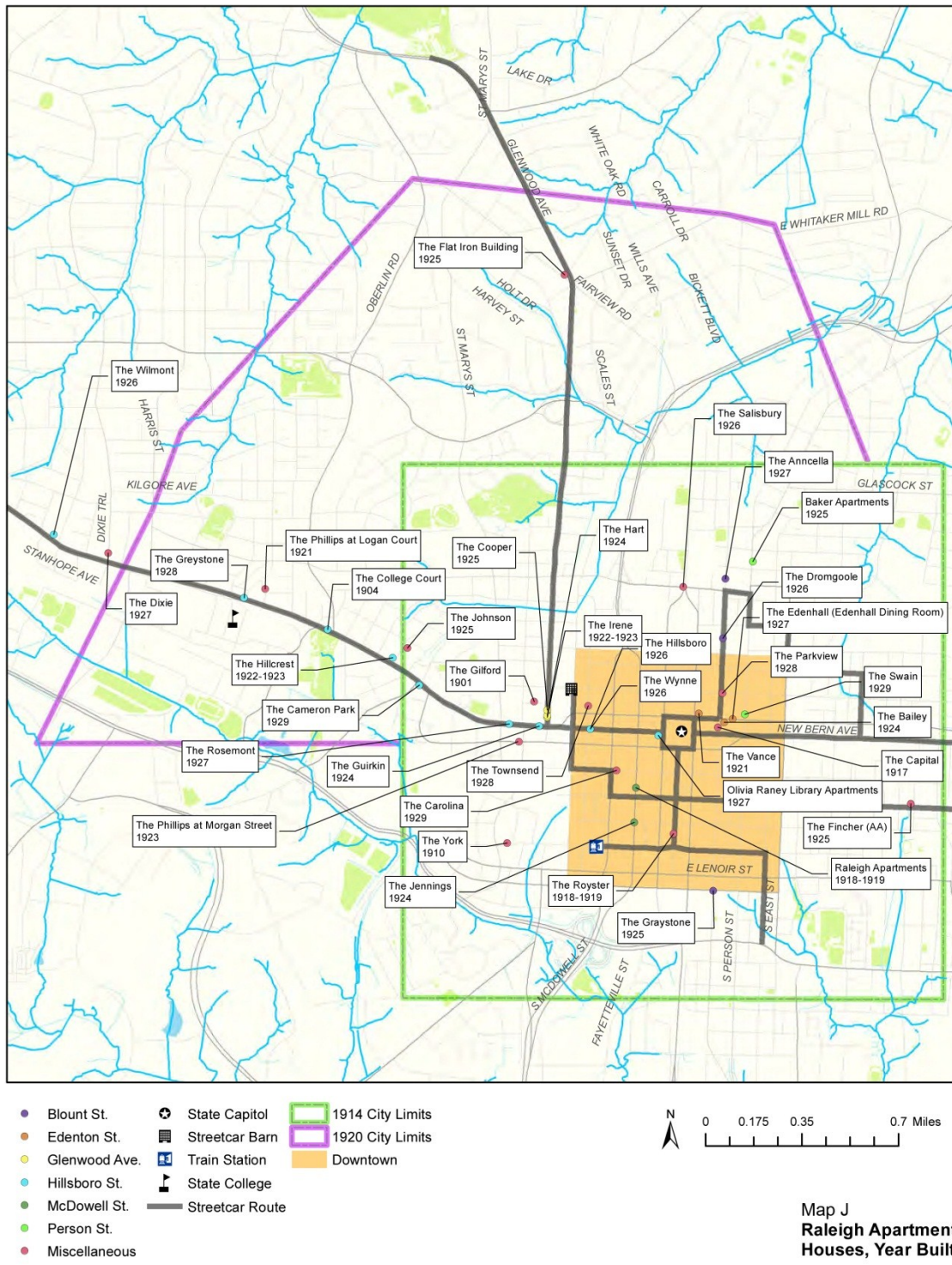


Figure 41. Map J: Raleigh Apartment Houses, Year Built. Shows Raleigh's first "true" apartment house, The Capital, and then follows the progression of downtown apartment houses such as The Vance and The Bailey and others along the streetcar routes.

Carolyn Loeb has identified the “realtor-developer” as the entrepreneurs behind real estate development who used “specific construction, design, and planning devices to achieve a balance of visual unity and variety, an image of historical continuity, and a sense of neighborhood.”²⁴ The importance of the principles of construction and design is evidenced in The Capital Apartments which were a major construction project in downtown Raleigh and the first planned apartment house (rather than a converted former apartment hotel). The Capital is the most grand, architecturally-speaking, of all of the domestic, multi-family housing buildings built in the first decades of the twentieth century in Raleigh.²⁵ As seen in Figure 42 below, The Capital Apartments has quite elaborate exterior design elements such as the decorated brackets under the

²⁴ Loeb, *Entrepreneurial Vernacular*, 3-5.

²⁵ Domestic apartments were built exclusively to serve a housing function. These buildings were segregated in the sense that one building would be for white tenants and one would be for black tenants. Classified newspaper advertisements never make a distinction about race in the wording for particular buildings. However, the city directories used a code of an asterisk (*) and a lowercase “c” to indicate when a building is classified as “colored” presumably targeted for African American tenants. Additionally, this idea can be corroborated when you cross-reference the street address with known black residential or business districts in the city or with fire insurance atlases from the Sanborn Insurance Company, for example. For this project, I sampled city directory data on tenants from the years 1918-1919, 1925, and 1929 to get an idea of the race, occupation, gender, and class characteristics for individual apartment houses. What I found was a consistent pattern of apartment houses, both urban and suburban, being housing for white people. The exception to this is the African American apartment house, The Fincher, discussed later in this chapter. However, in the 1929 apartment house listing for The Cameron Park Apartments there is one tenant in the sixteen units, a Mr. Henry R. Wilson, listed as “colored.” Mr. Wilson lived with his wife, Annie, in this apartment house. The fact that no other apartment house in the city contained both African American and white tenants in the same building, the location of this apartment building within the exclusive Cameron Park suburb (which had restrictive housing covenants barring African Americans), and given the historical realities of segregation at this time, the label was probably a publisher’s error in the directory. Or, alternatively, Mr. Wilson and his wife worked as caretakers for the house. The “colored” designation is not present when Mr. Wilson is listed under The Cameron Park apartment house but it is listed in the personal section of the city directory along with the street address of 1213 Hillsboro.

roof, the dental molding, wrought iron balcony grates, and the hand-carved stone window sills. The Capital Apartments according to Catherine Bisher and Michael Southern were, “The first and finest of several small, high-quality apartment houses downtown, the 5-story tan brick building with Renaissance Revival details frames a bright entrance courtyard and has corners cut out as balconies.”²⁶



Figure 42. Front-Facing View of The Capital Apartments. Located at 127 New Bern Avenue, this house has the fine brickwork and cut out balconies, on the left and right sides of each half of the U-shaped building, described by Bisher and Southern are visible in this photograph. Photograph taken by author on July 9, 2010.

The Capital's architecture is related to the lavish, mansion-type apartment house so popular in larger, metropolitan places like New York and Chicago in the late nineteenth century. These structures were characterized by multiple stories,

²⁶ Bisher and Southern, *Historic Architecture of Piedmont North Carolina*, 111.

more luxurious building materials, and generally catered to an upper middle-class clientele whereas most other apartment houses in Raleigh were targeted towards those in the lower middle-class.²⁷ Architectural writer, James L. Brandt, likened The Capital Apartments to those buildings in metropolitan areas when he wrote that the building “had a type of layout often found in apartments of this period in Chicago. This arrangement gives the main rooms of all the apartment windows on the main street instead of an airshaft.”²⁸

The Capital, along with the addition of other apartment houses throughout downtown and the suburbs, symbolized a new Raleigh which embraced a new and modern multi-family housing choice. The new middle-class professionals living in Raleigh in the 1920s wanted a residence whose architecture reflected their improved socio-economic status. Rather than being an anonymous tenant in a boarding house, a resident of The Capital could take pride in the publicity surrounding such a project, the fine architectural details, and the assurance that one’s neighbors would share in your same values and economic goals. As the staff of the *News and Observer* reported in 1916, “the erection of the apartment house, Raleighites are saying, is only another evidence that Raleigh is getting to be a city of proportions.”²⁹ Apartment living proved to be quite popular in Raleigh. Investors claimed that The Capital had applicants to fill almost every

²⁷ A middle-class clientele was certainly the case for The Capital which housed only white residents who were involved in professions such as business, education, or government.

²⁸ James L. Brandt, “A Half Century of North Carolina Architecture,” *North Carolina Architect* 2, no. 12 (1964): 16.

²⁹ Editorial, *News and Observer*, November 16, 1916.

apartment *before* they were even built.³⁰ It was a modern building for a modern professional. By drawing attention to the architectural details, relying on the marketing strategy of using the newspaper to spark interest in a building project, and creating a sense of scarcity by stating that the apartment were almost all gone before The Capital was ever built, realtor-developers helped to create an environment of success in which they, as historian Elizabeth Cromley has suggested, were able to reassure would be residents about “who the neighbors would be,” “how much privacy could be had,” and what kinds of amenities were available in a communal building that might not be available in a private home.³¹

Privacy was an important Victorian, middle-class value which was reflected in architectural designs. Victorian-era houses from the late nineteenth century in Raleigh were cavernous with many rooms and passages that could be closed off to allow time for solitude and reflection. That need for privacy was still a core value in the 1920s, but the ready acceptance of the apartment house form suggests that the definition of privacy was refined. We have already seen previously (in Chapter 5 of this dissertation) how homeowners of single-family homes used architectural strategies to incorporate non-family members into their households as renters while still maintaining familial privacy. Due to the desire to generate additional income for the household, the value of privacy had to be refined for those homeowners. Apartment house dwellers, in The Capital and in

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Cromley, *Alone Together*, Preface, xiii.

other buildings, desired that privacy as well but were willing to refine their definition of privacy to include public areas that had to be shared. As Elizabeth Cromley argues, “In an apartment house, where some public spaces and many private spaces had to coexist, the boundaries and meaning of public and private were always in negotiation.”³² The inner courtyard of The Capital, as seen in Figure 43 below, is a good example of the kind of public, “negotiated” space suggested by historian Elizabeth Cromley’s work.³³



Figure 43. Front Courtyard of The Capital Apartments. Photograph taken by the author on July 9, 2010.

³² Ibid., 2.

³³ Ibid., 7.

In the public courtyard a tenant might encounter a variety of individuals including neighbors, city tourists, or service people, both those that “belonged” at The Capital and those that were “outsiders.” But you could hold onto your privacy because individual apartments had features such as private doors and private balconies which could serve as social barriers to shared space. However, the too narrow design of the courtyard and the manner in which it blocks out some of the natural sunshine take away from the elegance of The Capital’s front façade, as Figure 44 below, illustrates. This was more than likely a consequence of the narrow lot sizes available in Raleigh’s already bustling downtown of 1917, the year The Capital was constructed. Unlike the larger suburban lots of apartment houses away from the city center, The Capital was physically restricted because of its location on one of the original township’s eighteenth century blocks. However, the open courtyard, elaborate front door frame, and cast iron lamp posts, visible in Figure 46 above, add to the urbanity of the building.



Figure 44. Interior of Courtyard of The Capital Apartments. An upwards facing photograph of the two halves of the U-shaped building and the base demonstrate the very narrow space occupied by the interior courtyard at The Capital Apartments at 127 New Bern Avenue. Photograph by the author on July 9, 2010.

The overwhelming success of The Capital led to publicity about the possible construction of other downtown apartment houses. In June 1919, *The Raleigh Times* newspaper ran a story about developers C.V. York, J. Crawford Biggs, and W.L. Brogden, who “with plans of erecting a *modern* apartment house...purchased a lot on the northeast corner of Wilmington and Edenton streets for \$16,600.”³⁴ The Capital Apartments inspired real estate investors, owners, and contractors C.V. York and W.B. Drake, to build a second downtown apartment building for middle-class whites in Raleigh which was called The Vance Apartments, although plans had existed to build the apartment house as

³⁴ Editorial, *Raleigh Times*, June 21, 1919.

early as 1912.³⁵ The Vance was envisioned as “modern in every particular.”³⁶ Upgraded from The Capital’s thirty units, plans included thirty-six apartments on the corner of Edenton Street and Wilmington Street.³⁷ The building ultimately housed thirty, one-bedroom apartments and seven efficiencies.³⁸ The Vance Apartments rose three stories and the exterior was composed of the same distinctive, yellow brick used in The Capital Apartments.³⁹ The Vance was special because it was one of the few buildings in downtown Raleigh which was decorated in the Art Deco style and also it was designed by prominent Atlanta

³⁵ The name for The Vance Apartments more than likely comes from North Carolina politician Zebulon Baird Vance who served the state as governor, senator, and congressman. At the time the building was constructed, a statue of Vance stood on the park grounds of the State Capitol building. That statue stood in the park from 1900-1948 when it was moved to make way for the Three Presidents of North Carolina statue which stands today. From the apartments in The Vance building one could see the Vance statue at the east approach of the Capitol building. The Vance statue was designed and executed by architectural sculptor Henry Jackson Ellicott. See Lisa Bellamy, “Downtown landmark falls to wrecker’s ball,” *News and Observer*, June 14, 1990, sec. 7. See also Elizabeth Reid Murray Collection, 2004.013, Box 249, Housing and Developments and Developers Folder #4, Vance Apartments, Olivia Raney Library, Raleigh, North Carolina. The financing and construction of The Vance Apartments was supervised by the Raleigh Improvement Company. York had purchased the lot on the northeast corner of Wilmington and Edenton streets with investors J. Crawford Biggs and W.L. Brogden for \$16,600 in June 1919. See Editorial, *Raleigh Times*, June 27, 1919.

³⁶ Editorial, *Raleigh Times*, December 6, 1912.

³⁷ Editorial, *Raleigh Times*, December 17, 1919.

³⁸ Laura J. Toller, “State’s plans for plaza spur effort to save ‘20s structure,” *Raleigh Times*, October 15, 1986, sec. 10. An efficiency apartment differs from a one-bedroom apartment in that it is composed of only one room with fixtures in place to maximize the potential of the space. Whereas a one-bedroom apartment might be composed of a bedroom, a living room, and a kitchen and dining area, an efficiency apartment might contain a folding bed, like a Murphy bed, which fit into the wall, a hot plate, a small table, and one or two chairs. See Groth. *Living Downtown*, 85-86 and Table 2 of the Appendix on page 306.

³⁹ Bellamy, “Downtown landmark,” *News and Observer*, June 14, 1990.

architect J. F. Leitner.⁴⁰ No longer extant, The Vance, “at cornice level...had concrete trim with panels cascading at the corners with green polychrome tiles. It also sported American shields with stars and stripes.”⁴¹ Although Art Deco’s vertical patterns and geometric design elements are more widely known in the United States in the 1930s, The Vance, according to North Carolina preservationists who fought against its demolition, was “a rare example nationally of the forerunners of that style.”⁴² The use of a nationally popular architectural style on The Vance façade would have made it easier for residents of Raleigh, not just newcomers but locals as well, to take a step towards multi-family housing because the Art Deco style would have lent prestige to the building.

The architectural differences between a more luxurious building such as The Capital and other apartment buildings in Raleigh helps to document the variety and complexity of experimentation in multi-family housing in Raleigh in the 1920s. The sumptuousness of these apartments suggests that this particular apartment house appealed to those with an upper middle-class or professional preference for modern living. Evidence about tenants in The Capital, gathered from various city directories for Raleigh, bears this out.⁴³ In the 1918-1919

⁴⁰ Unfortunately, The Vance Apartments was demolished in 1990 to make room for downtown offices. The State of North Carolina had purchased the building in 1989. See Bellamy, “Downtown landmark,” *News and Observer*, June 14, 1990.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Toller, “State’s plans for plaza,” *Raleigh Times*, October 15, 1986.

⁴³ For a complete list of the resident names and occupations for Raleigh’s Apartment Houses please see the table in Appendix B at the end of this dissertation. Those addresses are

volume of the *Hill's City Directory* for Raleigh there were thirty-two tenants listed as residing in The Capital Apartments. Most were widows, business professionals, or government workers. All were white and both men and women were listed as heads of household. Mr. James McKimmon was a partner in the law firm McKinnon and McKee as well as serving as the president of the Raleigh Insurance and Realty Company. Mr. George J. Ramsey was the federal director of the U.S. Employment Service for North Carolina and he was also president of the South Atlantic Teachers' Bureau. Mr. Paul A. Tillery was the Assistant General Manager and Chief Engineer at Carolina Power and Light Company and Yadkin River Power Company (the companies that ran the electric streetcar system in Raleigh). Occasionally, a traveling salesman such as Mr. Virgil J. Lee or Mr. P. Yates Timmons was listed and there was even one apartment occupied by Mr. K. Wayland Yates who was an auto mechanic. Perhaps these gentlemen chose to spend more money on a more expensive rental unit as a way to network professionally and socially with the wealthier clientele who resided in a building like The Capital Apartments. For the most part, however, the building was dominated by individuals who worked in professions such as law, business, and public office.⁴⁴

Even as early as 1925 The Capital Apartments was home to professional women and not just widows, and this pattern of occupancy fits the new

from the extant buildings used in the fieldwork portion of this study. It includes buildings cited in the city directories from the years 1919, 1922, 1926, and 1929.

⁴⁴ *Raleigh City Directory*, 1918-1919.

constructions of gender in the 1920s. The middle-class apartment house dwellers in Raleigh were altering not just their architectural preferences and ideas about privacy, but their standards of gender roles as well. This new middle-class identity was not just one for professional men such as the realtor-developers or men in business, banking, and government; it was also about professional women. These modern women, who could be heads of their own households, would have had training at business colleges in skills such as stenography (short-hand), typing, and business accounting in order to secure retail and government employment. Some of these women were unmarried, such as Miss Sarah G. Allen, who worked as the clerk to the State Food and Oil Chemist, or Miss Elizabeth Kelly, the educational agent for the Tobacco Growers Co-Op Association.⁴⁵ By 1929 Mrs. Fannie K. Thomas, school teacher, and Mrs. Sadie Malloy, Department Manager at Boylan-Pearce and Company Department Store, had moved into The Capital. Mrs. Annie S. Ramsey worked as a stenographer for the State Department of Conservation and Development while Miss Sarah G. Allen was a stenographer in the Superior Court Clerk's Office and Mrs. Bessie Thompson was the clerk to the State Auditor of North Carolina.⁴⁶ The proximity of their home, The Capital, to state government offices in downtown signified their occupation as new professionals. The prestige of the

⁴⁵ Ibid., 1925.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 1929.

class of these women workers was signified by their choice of residence in, architecturally, the finest apartment house in the city.

The Vance was not completed in time for inclusion in the 1918-1919 volume of *Hill's Raleigh City Directory*, but data from the 1925 volume indicates that the building had a similar demographic profile to its close neighbor, The Capital, in that it catered primarily to business people and professionals, those white-collar occupations popular among the new middle-class. Although the one-bedroom apartments and efficiencies of The Vance were smaller than those in The Capital, residents traded space for the convenience of living, working, and playing in the heart of downtown Raleigh. Residents at The Vance included traveling salesmen like Mr. Joseph T. Banks, Mr. Walter C. Bateman, and Mr. William R. Smith but also entrepreneurs such as Mr. W.T. Medlin, the owner of The Toyland Company, and Mr. Ovid D. Porter, the owner of Porter Candy Company.⁴⁷ Female professionals or “business girls” such as Miss Lillian M. Smith, clerk at the Atlantic Joint Stock Land Bank or Miss Josephine B. Rand, the secretary at the North Carolina State Prison, also lived in The Vance Apartments.⁴⁸ By 1929, The Vance was home to female business owners such

⁴⁷ Ibid., 1925.

⁴⁸ “Business girls preferred” is a phrase I encountered in the classified advertisements of the *News and Observer* newspaper when I was constructing my database. This phrase was used when a landlord was seeking a professional woman as a tenant (as opposed to a family or married couple, for example). The phrase was exclusively used in apartment advertisements that were identified with single-family homes that were converted to multi-family living spaces (discussed in Chapter 5 of this dissertation) downtown and in the suburbs. However, this type of tenant was frequently described in the city directory data for Raleigh. The apartment houses for the city were home to women stenographers, clerks, saleswomen, and secretaries who could

as Mrs. Mary A. Dobbin who ran her deceased husband's company, the T.W. Dobbin Company Interior Decorators. These business people would have benefitted from the proximity of their apartment to businesses and shops, but also the ornamented building and prestige of the name The Vance conferred status onto tenants. The success of The Capital and The Vance helped to chip away at the dominance of the single-family home as the symbol for the "residence city," a symbol that was simultaneously built and rebuilt in Raleigh's housing market.

The Bailey Apartments in downtown Raleigh is much more modest in architectural design, size, and scale than either The Capital or The Vance. The Bailey Apartments, located at 200 E. Edenton Street, is just a few blocks from the State Capitol Building and was built in 1924, close to The Capital and The Vance, as seen on *Map J: Raleigh Apartment Houses, Year Built* above.⁴⁹ The Bailey is constructed of red, clay brick and the front façade is dominated by a three-decker porch as seen in Figure 45 below. The Bailey's front porch is an important architectural feature.

easily be classified as "business girls" given their skill level and professional occupations. See *Raleigh City Directory*, 1925.

⁴⁹ See Wake County Real Estate Records, <http://services.wakegov.com/realestate/> (accessed, May 6, 2010) for construction dates for The Bailey and other apartment houses.



Figure 45. Front Façade of The Bailey Apartments. Located at 200 E. Edenton Street. Photograph taken by the author on July 9, 2010.

Porches were not exclusively the domain of single-family homes. They were also popular features for apartment houses. For example in this 1929 advertisement, "GRAYSTONE AND SEVERAL OTH-er Ashby Lambert apartments, fresh and clean with porches" the subtext is hygiene and health as the real estate company stresses the "clean" nature of the apartment and the access to the outdoors via porches.⁵⁰ Real estate companies could and did use porches as a selling point for apartment houses in Raleigh because porches symbolized the two middle-class values of respectability and privacy. A porch was, in fact, a selling point for attracting residents to The Bailey. A May 1926

⁵⁰ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, April 28, 1929.

classified advertisement for the property announced, "ONE MODERN APT. 3 ROOMS bath and porch. Bailey Apts. Phone 2722."⁵¹

In Kingston Heath's study of rental housing in New Bedford, Massachusetts, *The Patina of Place*, he argues that porches had cultural meaning and not just architectural significance to tenants. Heath maintains that porches "signaled private ownership, civility, and good taste to the...family that could often only dream of owning a home."⁵² Porches were very important to southern housing design, "it not only represented healthy communion with nature but also respectable domesticity in American society." This reference to a traditional nineteenth century building practice of the front porch, with all of its symbolism about gentility and privacy, helped to make the domestic apartment house form acceptable in a modernizing Raleigh in the twentieth century. Porches allowed apartment house dwellers to enact the rituals of gentility and respectability so crucial to middle-class identity in the New South while at the same time embracing a modern housing form. Boarding houses, converted apartments within single-family homes, and large apartment houses which could offer residents porch access offered them the chance to entertain and socialize with the community or have a private outdoor space.

Those new to Raleigh who were deciding between boarding-house life or renting an apartment might be enticed by the middle-class respectability which

⁵¹ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, May 2, 1926.

⁵² Heath, *Patina of Place*, 146.

was inherent in a “private porch” offered at a particular residence. Electricity made exterior spaces such as outdoor porches, particularly important in hot, southern climates, a full-functioning part of the home. Homeowners could place electric lamps on the porch and make it ideal for socializing or eating during the temperate parts of the year. Porches, Heath argues, “laid claim visually to a residential space in a manner more personal than the stoop-and-entry hood of the larger working-class barracks, which in its physical context implied ‘mass’ housing.” Additionally, they “allowed for the visual separation of each floor into private units.”⁵³ In Figure 46 below, we can see how modern-day tenants visually separate each living space at The Bailey by including personal items such as furniture, like the lamp and lawn chair, sleeping accessories, such as the hammock, and blinds to control the amount of light coming onto an individual porch. The visual effect of the three-decker porch is to separate The Bailey into distinct housing zones.

⁵³ Ibid., 146.



Figure 46. The Three-Decker Porch. Note the multiple uses of the porches on The Bailey Apartments. Photograph taken by the author on July 9, 2010.

These porches allowed tenants to extend apartment space into the outdoors and could potentially make The Bailey Apartments more competitive than another apartment house built without such a feature. Writer Lee Taylor wrote about the importance of porches to apartment houses in his 1925 article entitled, “Design and Plan of Small City Apartment Buildings.” Taylor noted the “insistent demand” for porches “in many parts of the country” but “especially in the South.” He lamented the difficulties in reconciling exterior porches with the overall design of an apartment house, but agreed that they were important

because they could “afford the tenant some opportunity to live a part of his life outdoors.”⁵⁴ Historian Ruth Little has observed the prevalence of porches in North Carolina domestic architecture arguing that, “the ‘sitting porch’ is an appendage no genteel house in the pre-World War I South would be caught without.” Little goes further stating that, “the porch is perhaps the most valuable Southern contribution to vernacular American domestic building” in that they were important both stylistically and functionally to southern home life.⁵⁵ An apartment dweller at places like The Bailey embraced the new and modern architectural form while still having an eye on the past and relying on the gentility and respectability of the middle-class reflected by the use of a front porch.

In the 1920s, The Bailey catered to white, middle-class professionals with connections to Raleigh’s government and business networks. In 1925, The Bailey was home to Reverend R.W. Bailey; Mr. John M. Carmines, a clerk for the Noland Insurance Company; Dr. Powell G. Fox; Mr. William A. Mabry, the proprietor of Capitol Drug Store; and Messieurs Carl M. Pollard and Glenn O. Randall, who were both salesmen.⁵⁶ By 1929, Reverend Bailey had been joined by a wife, Frances C., and they were neighbors to Mrs. Catherine Lowrey, an employee of the State Department of Revenue and Mr. Walter B. Taggart,

⁵⁴ R.E. Lee Taylor, “Design and Plan of Small City Apartment Buildings,” *The Architectural Forum*, 43 (1925): 124.

⁵⁵ Ruth Little-Stokes, “The North Carolina Porch: A Climactic and Cultural Buffer,” in *Carolina Dwelling*, ed. Doug Swain (Raleigh, NC: North Carolina State University School of Design), 104.

⁵⁶ *Raleigh City Directory*, 1925.

surprisingly, working in a female-dominated field as a stenographer for the State Government.⁵⁷ Residents at The Bailey rented entire apartments for themselves and their families, but some also sublet bedrooms within larger apartments. For example in this May 1926 advertisement the tenant advertised, “ONE CHOICE FURNISHED ROOM in Bailey Apts. Phone 2722” or in this April 1929 advertisement where a renter was looking for a, “GENTLEMAN FOR choice southern bedroom,” indicating the desire to further subdivide an apartment space into even smaller rental units.⁵⁸

Making the “House” a Home: Apartment Houses in Raleigh’s Suburban Neighborhoods

Architecturally, apartment houses located in Raleigh’s suburban developments differ significantly from those downtown including The Capital, The Vance, and The Bailey. Whereas The Capital and The Vance both relied on important design features of Renaissance Revival and Art Deco styles and The Bailey capitalized on the gentility reflected in a private porch, suburban apartment houses in Raleigh were frequently built so that the architecture of the front porch is configured in such a way as to obscure that the building is a multi-family dwelling space. The extant apartment houses of this type in Raleigh include The Gilford, The York, and The Johnson Apartments, which all “read” visually as single-family homes, at first glance. The construction of single-family

⁵⁷ Ibid., 1929.

⁵⁸ Classifieds, *News and Observer*, May 30, 1926 and April 7, 1929.

house porches on the front of multi-family apartment houses was a deliberate strategy employed by realtor-developers to help maintain the “suburban ideal.” This is significant because the fact that these houses present visually as single-family houses and not as multi-family dwellings made them relate more closely to the single-family homes in the neighborhood around them.

The Gilford building, constructed in 1901, was not listed as an “apartment house” in the *Hill’s City Directory* until 1928.⁵⁹ The early construction date suggests that it may have been used as something else, such as a private home or boarding house, before it was converted to apartment units, and the configuration of the porch as a single-family home porch supports this earlier use, as seen in Figure 47 below. The Gilford was not a large apartment house. In 1929 it only had four rental units, three were occupied and one was vacant. The tenants of The Gilford were all married couples including Mr. A. Clifton Eatman, an engineer, and his wife Hazel; Mr. Earl W. Ellis, a purchasing agent, and his wife Effie; and finally, Mr. Richard F. Brickhouse, an engineer, and his wife Lillian. The husbands were all fine examples of the newly professional middle-class in Raleigh.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ *Raleigh City Directory*, 1928.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 1929.



Figure 47. Front Façade of The Gilford Apartments. Located at 610 Willard Place. Photograph taken by the author on July 22, 2012.

The York building, constructed in 1910, was listed as an “apartment house” as early as the 1919-1920 issue of the *Hill’s City Directory*; however, at that time no tenants were listed.⁶¹ Not until the 1927 city directory issue are tenants specified for The York building.⁶² By 1929 the Raleigh city directory lists just four apartments occupied by married tenants. Mr. Paul S. Dowell, the manager of the Cascade Laundry Company, and his wife Alberta lived in Apartment 1. Mr. Lloyd E. Long, a salesman at Hudson-Belk Company, and his wife Lila lived in Apartment 2. Mr. George U. Baucom, Jr., a lawyer, and his wife Virginia lived in Apartment 3 and Mr. Paul H. Kime, a school teacher, and his wife Lillian lived in Apartment 4. This city directory data coupled with the configuration

⁶¹ Ibid., 1919-1920.

⁶² Ibid., 1927.

of the porch visible in Figure 48 below, suggests its usage as a single-family house until 1927.



Figure 48. Front Façade of The York Apartments. Located at 728 W. Cabarrus Street. Photograph taken by the author on July 9, 2010.

The Gilford and The York Apartments both have architectural elements similar to those used in popular home building styles from the 1920s, such as the bungalow, including low pitched roofs, wide, open porches, and a single front-entrance. However, the additional information from the city directories for Raleigh and fieldwork photographs of these buildings reveals their true purpose as apartment houses. These architectural details on The Gilford and The York make them appear to “belong” in the neighborhood. By mimicking single-family house design, these apartment houses contributed to the illusion of the suburb made up of single-family houses.

The Johnson apartment house was built in 1925 and is located within the Cameron Park suburb, and unlike the converted Gilford and York Apartments, was constructed as an apartment house from its inception. Its location in Cameron Park, an exclusive, all white, upper middle-class suburb meant that it had to conform with the “suburban ideal” set out by the realtor-developers V.O. Parker and Carey J. Hunter. The Johnson worked to, as Carolyn Loeb argues, “to achieve a balance of visual unity and variety, an image of historical continuity, and a sense of neighborhood” when it was built specifically as an apartment house in 1925.⁶³ The Johnson’s more elegant architectural details, as seen in Figure 49 below, such as the glass paned window frame and decorative window element on the second floor, as well as its larger size and grander scale (when compared to The Gilford or The York), help it to achieve that continuity with other Cameron Park properties from the period.⁶⁴

⁶³ Loeb, *Entrepreneurial Vernacular*, 3-5.

⁶⁴ See Chapter 3: “Let No One Be A Stranger But Once”: the “Suburban Ideal” versus the Suburban Reality, Lifestyle Patterns of Raleigh’s Single-Family Homeowners and Apartment Residents in this dissertation for a discussion of Cameron Park’s architecture and demographics.



Figure 49. Front Façade of The Johnson Apartments. Located at 122 Hillcrest Road. Photograph taken by the author on July 9, 2010.

The task of apartment house realtor-developer was to actively achieve that “visual unity” by constructing apartment houses that resembled single-family houses and by using historicist architecture on the apartment houses which was consistent with the single-family houses surrounding it. The Gilford and The York, already in existence in the West Raleigh suburban neighborhoods near State College did not have to work so hard to achieve this symbiosis with their surrounding neighbors because they were initially used as single-family homes. Their proximity to State College would have made them ideal residences for employees and students, such as the engineers Eatman and Brickhouse, who lived at The Gilford and probably taught in the engineering school at State

College.⁶⁵ The “suburban ideal” was dependent on architectural continuity and in creating an artificial neighborhood that would appear as if everything was “natural” and “belonged” there. Realtor-developers in Raleigh recognized that apartment houses in suburban developments needed to conform to the tenants of the “suburban ideal” in order to be successful in securing not only tenants but the approval and respect of the single-family homeowners in a particular neighborhood.

The Johnson Apartments were considerably larger and housed middle-class residents similar to those living at either The Gilford or The York. In 1925 The Johnson was home to Miss Catherine Allen, who was the head Professor of Modern Languages at Meredith College in Raleigh. Her neighbors included Mr. Henry T. Bronson, an actuary for the State Insurance Department; Mr. E.C. Murphy who worked as a clerk for the Carolina Mortgage and Indemnity Company; Mr. Victor Schur, the secretary and treasurer of the J.E. Beaman Construction Company and secretary of State Theater, Inc.; and finally Mr. William Teiser, a traveling salesman. By 1929, all of the 1925 tenants had moved away from The Johnson. That year, Mr. Chester H. Elmes, a teacher at State College, and his wife Jeannette lived in Apartment 2. Mr. Aaron Thorn, a manager at Globe Clothing Company, and his wife Freda lived in Apartment 3. Mr. Ernest H. Wilson, Jr., a serviceman for Raleigh Tractor & Equipment Company, and his wife Mary lived in Apartment 4, to name a few examples.

⁶⁵ *Raleigh City Directory*, 1929.

Although professionally these teachers, salesmen, and clerks were not earning an upper-middle-class salary as the doctors, bankers, and politicians living in Cameron Park did, they were able to enjoy the prestige of a Cameron Park address for a bargain price when compared to a purchase of land or building construction which would meet the suburb's financial conditions.

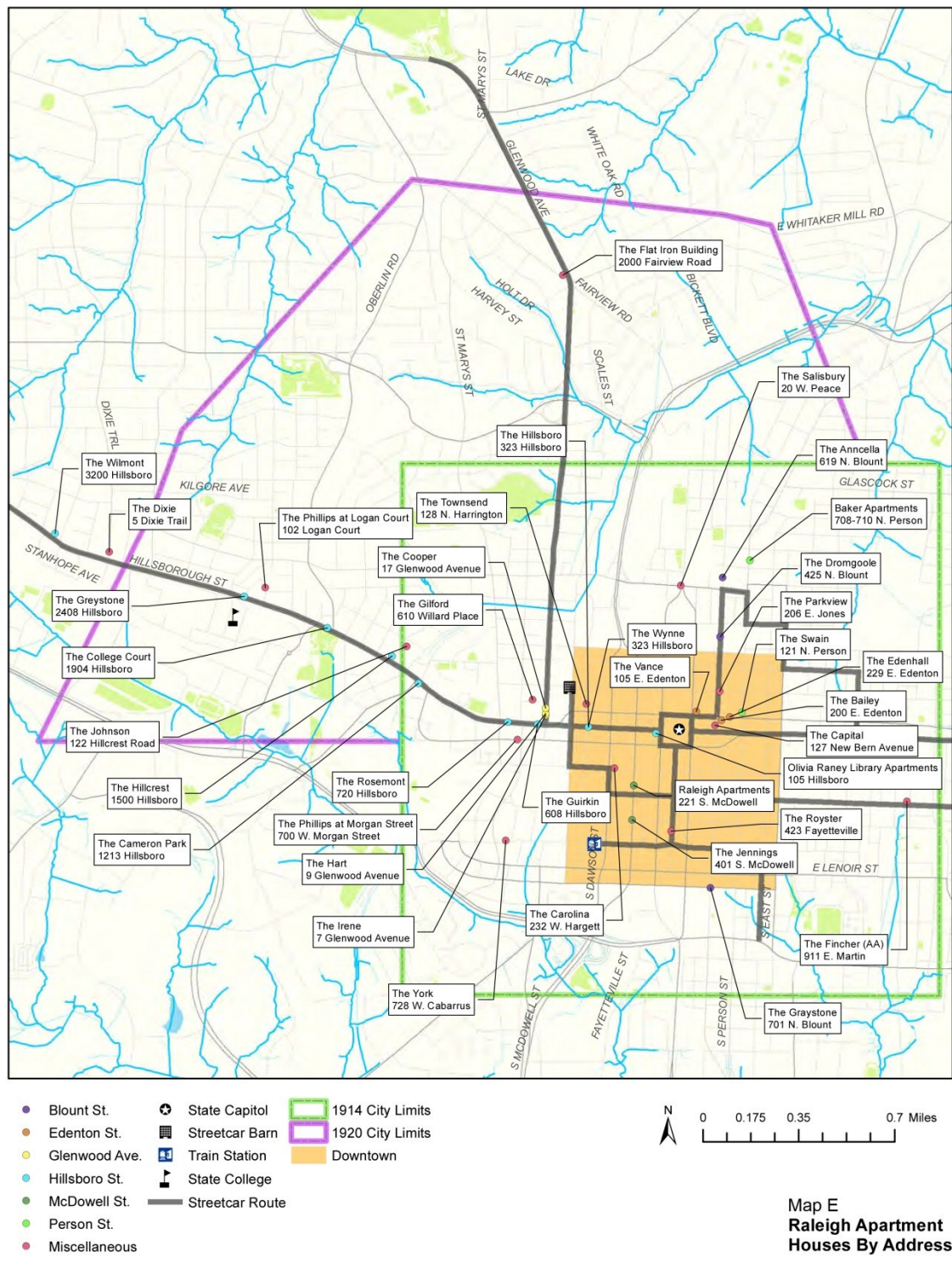
The Wilmont: A Different Kind of Suburban Apartment House

There are different suburban apartment house building types that developed in Raleigh in the 1920s depending on the social context in which the building was located. The suburban apartment houses discussed previously (The Gilford, The York, and The Johnson) were all nestled within established suburban neighborhoods in 1920's Raleigh. The Gilford and The York are both located in the West Raleigh suburban neighborhood cluster near the school district of State College and catered to lower-middle-class and middle-class residents who were often associated with the college or businesses nearby. Additionally, these buildings were converted from single-family houses to apartment houses in the early 1920s. The Johnson, on the other hand, was constructed by realtor-developers specifically as an apartment house in 1925 in the upper middle-class suburban development known as Cameron Park.⁶⁶

Suburban apartments built by realtor-developers were meant to appeal to a

⁶⁶ The realtor-developers of The Johnson Apartments must have recognized an economic niche for residents who could not afford to live in Cameron Park but who still coveted the prestigious address.

primarily white, middle-class audience. As seen in *Map E: Raleigh Apartment Houses By Address* in Figure 50 below, numerous apartment houses were located some distance from the city center, and residents would have had to rely on first streetcar and later automobile transportation to travel to and fro.



Those who could afford automobile transportation often wanted to live in a suburban apartment house and neighborhood that reflected their status.

Historian Elizabeth Cromley suggests using architecture as an important source for learning about the ways in which apartment residents could raise their status.

She writes:

It may be tempting to think of “class” as a container, and to consider what incomes, what educations, what occupations the people in that container should possess? But it is more helpful to think about class differences as the negotiated positions of one class in relation to another, not fixed properties. Belonging to the middle-class meant negotiating a status location in the city through making “choices” (constrained or enabled by resources) in dress, behavior, education, occupation, taste and, so on, that could mark families as different from (and better than) all those others, the immigrants, the working-class.⁶⁷

Individuals or families, then, could gain entrance into the middle-class via apartment living and having an address in an exclusive neighborhood such as Cameron Park or Boylan Heights. By choosing a modern housing form such as an apartment and by selecting a suburb with neighbors who shared racial, class, and, sometimes, occupational characteristics with oneself, residents actively used housing to designate their up-and-coming status in the city to outside observers. Unlike the earlier streetcar suburbs of Cameron Park, Boylan Heights, and Hayes Barton, West Raleigh suburban neighborhoods were strongly influenced by the introduction of the automobile. By driving an automobile instead of using the public transit system of the streetcar, a resident

⁶⁷ Cromley, *Alone Together*, 7.

could borrow another middle-class marker of wealth and status. In this way a Raleigh resident could “negotiate” their way into a new socio-economic group via their choice of residence and mode of transportation.

By mid-decade, downtown apartment houses, such as The Capital and The Vance Apartments, had to compete with suburban buildings, such as The Wilmont Apartments, for middle-class, white, tenants. The Wilmont, like The Capital and The Vance, depended on historicist architectural style, but unlike The Gilford, The York, and The Johnson, The Wilmont’s architectural style did not help it to blend into the “suburban ideal” of developments full of single-family homes. The Wilmont was built in West Raleigh, as were The Gilford and The York, but it was built in the farthest out white, middle-class suburban neighborhood in Raleigh, near the State Fair Grounds, and in a mixed-use neighborhood near both State College and local businesses catering to the needs of professors and students. The Wilmont, built in 1926, represents a turning point in the history of Raleigh’s apartment houses and a refinement of the “suburban ideal.” Rather than try to create a building that blended into the landscape and looked like the single-family homes nearby, The Wilmont stands out as a building with more in common with State College’s original brick institutional building aesthetic than with single-family homes in West Raleigh.⁶⁸ The Wilmont marks a radical departure for apartment house realtor-developers

⁶⁸ “State College” was an abbreviated title for the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts which would become North Carolina State University in the twentieth century.

who used the same architectural techniques from the grand domestic apartment houses that were located in downtown Raleigh, including The Capital and The Vance, and, for the first time, applied it to suburban architecture, making an entirely new building type.⁶⁹

Much like The Capital and The Vance buildings, The Wilmont's façade presents clearly as an apartment house, as seen in Figure 51 below. No visitor to Raleigh would confuse this structure with a single-family house because of its multiple addresses (The Wilmont stands at 3200, 3202, and 3204 Hillsborough Street), four stories, three projecting bays (designating the entranceway and central stairs for each section of the building), and three double-leaf entrances.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ The Wilmont Apartment House was named for the Wilmont neighborhood in West Raleigh where it was located. It was owned and operated by the Hornaday and Faucette Realty Company in 1926 but it was developed by realtor-developer Daniel Allen (who also developed Mordecai and Hayes Barton). The Wilmont was built by C.C. Pierce. See Raleigh Historic Development Commission, "Wilmont Apartments," <http://www.rhdc.org/wilmont-apartments> (accessed August 26, 2012).

⁷⁰ I am using the modern day spelling of Hillsborough Street. In 1926, the year The Wilmont was built the street would have been spelled Hillsboro. Double-leaf means double-doored. Figures 5, 6, and 7 were all photographed by the author on July 9, 2010. These are double-leaf French doors with "fifteen-light" or panes of glass in each door. See Heather Wagner, "Wilmont Apartments," *Raleigh Historic Landmark Designation Application* (Raleigh, NC: Raleigh Department of City Planning, 2010), 5.



Figure 51. The Wilmont Apartments. Located at 3200-3204 Hillsborough Street. Photograph taken by the author on July 9, 2010.

The building is constructed of red, clay brick and has a Spanish Colonial influence to the building design including the green-tiled roof, the parapet and arched parapet (small ridge, or wall along roofline), and six-over-six paned windows, seen in Figure 52 below. The use of an historicist architectural style was an important choice in helping to make renters attracted to The Wilmont. As historian Carolyn Loeb has written about the architectural continuity of suburban developments in the 1920s, “the use of traditional or historicist styles served as a visual buttress to the continuity of the subdivision as a whole.” The modern technologies of electricity, indoor plumbing, and telephones and the subsequent

interior changes to things like room design and size could be obscured by “the reassuring aura of stability and longevity created by enveloping these changes in [a familiar architectural style]...provided security.”⁷¹ When the Wilmont subdivision was platted by State College engineering professor, Carroll Mann, in the 1920s, it was advertised as “Raleigh’s newest and most modern subdivision development for the ideal home.”⁷² For some, however, the “ideal home” was not a single-family house in the suburbs but a modern and efficient apartment, such as The Wilmont Apartment House, laden with technologies and amenities.⁷³

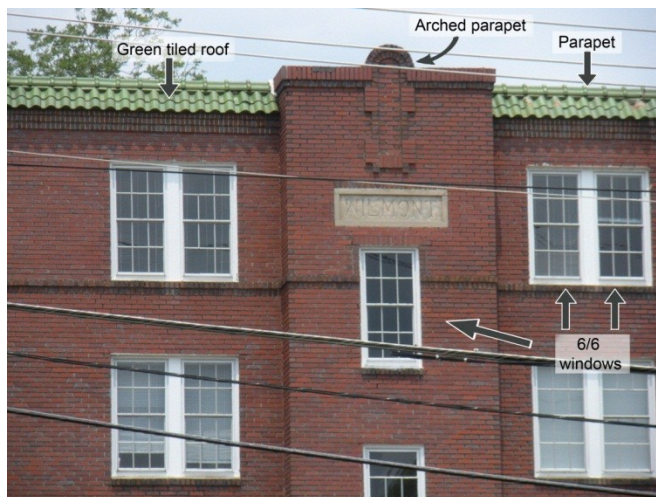


Figure 52. Bay B of The Wilmont Apartments. The top shows the parapet, green tiled roof, and six-over-six paned sash windows. Photograph taken by the author on July 9, 2010.

⁷¹ Loeb, *Entrepreneurial Vernacular*, 200.

⁷² As quoted in Raleigh Historic Development Commission, “West Raleigh Historic District” Report, <http://www.rhdc.org/west-raleigh-historic-district-2> (accessed August 26, 2012).

⁷³ I define “amenity” as any useful feature that makes a particular apartment space a desirable choice to rent. This could include “technologies” such as indoor plumbing or electricity, but also non-technological features such as a private entrance, garden, or sun porch. Technologies are amenities to a living space but amenities are not necessarily technological.

The Wilmont Apartments, like The Capital and The Vance, contained elaborate, decorative, exterior elements. They were buildings which were constructed to appeal to a more refined clientele. Residents could take pride in the stone engraving “Wilmont” on the front of the building, seen in Figure 53 below. The feelings invoked by the exterior of an apartment house were an important factor in the process of negotiation described by historian Elizabeth Cromley.⁷⁴ For Raleigh residents who were not able to buy and build a home in an exclusive suburban development like Cameron Park or Glenwood-Brooklyn, they could employ a different means to access that middle-class status by living in the latest, most modern, and architecturally distinctive apartment house in West Raleigh, The Wilmont. A September 1925 article in *The Architectural Forum* captured the importance of a building’s façade in a potential tenant’s decision-making process:

From the point of view of the tenant it is not so much the impression which he himself receives, but he is likely to think of the impression which will be made on the friends who may visit him during the period of his lease. Experience has shown that apartment building exteriors of interesting architectural design, which sets them somewhat apart from the average building, will usually command a somewhat higher rental for the same areas, and that the vacancies are fewer than in a building of unattractive design.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Cromley, *Alone Together*, 7.

⁷⁵ C. Stanley Taylor, “Features Which Help to Rent Apartment Houses,” *The Architectural Forum* 43 (1925): 137.



Figure 53. "Wilmont" Engraving. Located above the central bay door. Photograph taken by the author on July 9, 2010.

The design of The Wilmont corresponded with the latest recommendations from housing professionals on how to build attractive apartment houses and how to recruit respectable clients. In 1925, *The Architectural Forum* had published an article on new apartment house construction which contained strategies for design. Readers were assured that, "the erection of detached or free-standing apartment buildings...gives the opportunity for many corner rooms and consequent cross-ventilation in most of the apartments."⁷⁶ The Wilmont is a free-

⁷⁶ A.E. MacDougall, "New Features in Apartment House Building," *The Architectural Forum* 43 (1925): 160.

standing building and the apartments located in both the back and the sides of the building have ample windows for cross-ventilation.

Additionally, The Wilmont Apartments, with its distinctive green-tiled roof, decorative iron balconies, and canopies fulfilled the hopes of the writers of *The Architectural Forum* in that “the silhouette produced through a picturesque arrangement of roofs and dormers, towers and other features adds a great deal to the attractiveness of the new type of apartment.”⁷⁷ The Wilmont is set on a sizeable lot of .89 acres with a grassy lawn and room for decorative plantings.⁷⁸ The journal encouraged “buildings [to be] set back from the lot lines in order to provide...an opportunity for lawns and planting in front.”⁷⁹ The Wilmont’s grassy lawns and domestic architecture, and its strategic location in between the fairgrounds and the college, made it a transitional space between the suburban neighborhoods dominated by single-family homes in West Raleigh and the commercial and educational districts associated with State College along Hillsboro Street.

The Wilmont, in the 1920s, was home to middle-class professionals, oftentimes married couples. Mr. H. Barksdale Poindexter, an aviator, and his wife Mary C. lived at The Wilmont in Apartment B-2. Their neighbors in B-3 were Mr. Samuel R. McClellan, his son Robert, and his wife Evelyn. Samuel was the

⁷⁷ MacDougall, “New Features in Apartment House Building,” 160.

⁷⁸ Wagner, “Wilmont Apartments,” 4.

⁷⁹ MacDougall, “New Features in Apartment House Building,” 160.

manager of the American Optical Company. Several faculty members and employees of State College lived at The Wilmont, including Mr. Arthur I. Ladu, a teacher, and his wife Lena. Miss Nell A. Paschal, an assistant librarian at State College, lived in apartment B-8 with Miss Martha C. Galt, a teacher. In Bay C, Mr. J. Benbury Haywood, a cotton classer for the North Carolina Growers Cooperative Association and his wife Lucile G. lived as well as Mr. George E. Porter, a general superintendent for the Carolina Power and Light Company, and his wife Minnie.⁸⁰ These business people and associates of State College were able to maintain a middle-class lifestyle and live out “in the sticks” in The Wilmont suburb because they were safe in the knowledge of neighbors who had similar values and goals and because of an architectural package which contained modern interior features in a noble exterior.

The Fincher: Raleigh’s Only African American Apartment House

The primary demographic profile for Raleigh’s apartment houses in the 1920s was that they were the residences for white, middle-class, professionals.⁸¹

⁸⁰ *Raleigh City Directory*, 1929.

⁸¹ The housing choices for African Americans were, of course more limited than those of whites in Raleigh. Students could attend Saint Augustine’s College or Shaw College which were some of the premiere institutions of higher learning in the South at that time for African Americans and live in on-campus dormitories. Newcomers, transients, and those looking for temporary housing, before renting or buying a home, oftentimes stayed in African American owned and operated boarding houses. See Chapter 4: “A Residence City”: Spatial Patterns in a Modernizing Raleigh in this dissertation for a discussion of Raleigh’s boarding houses. Wealthier members of the African American middle-class in Raleigh, particularly those businessmen, women, and professors at Saint Augustine’s and Shaw, had houses in neighborhoods near the school such as College Park and Idlewild. Others chose to buy homes in African American planned suburbs such as Lincolnville, Method, and Oberlin. Still others, in downtown Raleigh, chose to stay in the

The Fincher Apartment house, located at 911 East Martin Street, is the solitary exception to that pattern. It was the only African American apartment house in Raleigh in the 1920s and thus the only one extant today. The Capital and The Vance buildings set a precedent in Raleigh for the new realtor-developer to create a luxurious new housing choice for residents. The Gilford, The York, and The Johnson are apartment houses adapted to fit into the aesthetic of suburban neighborhoods dominated by single-family homes. The Wilmont refined the idea of the “suburban ideal” as applied to apartment houses by introducing a building type that radically departed from its suburban predecessors, which had tried to mimic the architecture of the single-family home. The Fincher Apartment House, seen in Figure 54 below, introduced a fourth and final building type, the African American apartment house, where the realtor-developer, owner, builder, and landlord were all the same individual.

hotel at the Lightner Arcade. The Arcade was built in 1921 and it also contained a barber college, barber shop, drugstore, newspaper, and restaurant. It was one of the few places between Washington D.C. and Florida where African American entertainers, like Duke Ellington and Count Basie, and important political figures could stay. The Arcade, located at 130 East Hargett Street, was the center of African American political, social, and business life as it connected downtown and suburban residents with Raleigh’s “black main street,” or East Hargett Street. See Simmons-Henry and Edmisten, *Culture Town* for more information on these neighborhoods.



Figure 54. Front Façade of The Fincher Apartments. Located at 911 East Martin Street. Photograph taken by the author on July 9, 2010.

In the city directories for Raleigh, The Fincher is the only apartment house listed that had African American tenants and that is labeled as a “colored” apartment house.⁸² The Fincher was owned, built, and rented by African Americans, specifically by Edward B. Fincher and his wife Anna B (Anna Belle) Fincher. The house was built in 1925, within the 1914 city limits of Raleigh, as illustrated on *Map J: Raleigh Apartment Houses, Year Built* above. It is closer to downtown than the African American suburbs of Licolnville, Method, and Oberlin (pictured in *Map A: Raleigh Suburban Neighborhood Locations*) in Figure 55

⁸² The Fincher Apartment house was built in 1925 but it does not appear until the 1928 city directory issue. See Wake County Real Estate Records, <http://services.wakegov.com/realestate/> (accessed, May 6, 2010) for construction dates. See also *Raleigh City Directory*, 1928.

below, and it was right along the streetcar route so tenants would have easier access to places of both employment and amusement in Raleigh. Edward and Anna Belle Fincher would not have had the option to purchase land in the new, white suburbs of Cameron Park, Glenwood-Brooklyn, Boylan Heights, or Hayes Barton to build their apartment house due to restrictive housing covenants blocking the sale of land to African Americans.⁸³ However, they did manage to save enough money to purchase a plot of land on the outskirts of downtown and chose not to build in any of the African American college districts (Shaw and Saint Augustine's) or in any of the established African American suburbs including Oberlin, Method, and Lincolnville.

⁸³ Restrictive housing covenants involved rules set out by suburban housing developers which limited what a property owner could do and also what kind of property owner could occupy residency in a particular suburb. This was to ensure the future racial stability and exclusivity of the neighborhood so property owners could not sell to African Americans. In the case of Cameron Park and also across the South and many parts of the nation at this time (and much of the twentieth century until the renewal of federal civil rights legislation in the 1960s and 1970s), restrictive housing covenants were a means to control the racial makeup of a neighborhood. The Parker-Hunter Realty Company strictly forbade African Americans from Cameron Park when they instituted this policy: "That the premises shall not be occupied by negroes or persons of negro blood; provided, that this shall not be construed to prevent the living upon the premises of any negro who is employed for domestic purposes by the occupants of the dwelling houses on said land." See *Cameron Park*, Forward, 8.

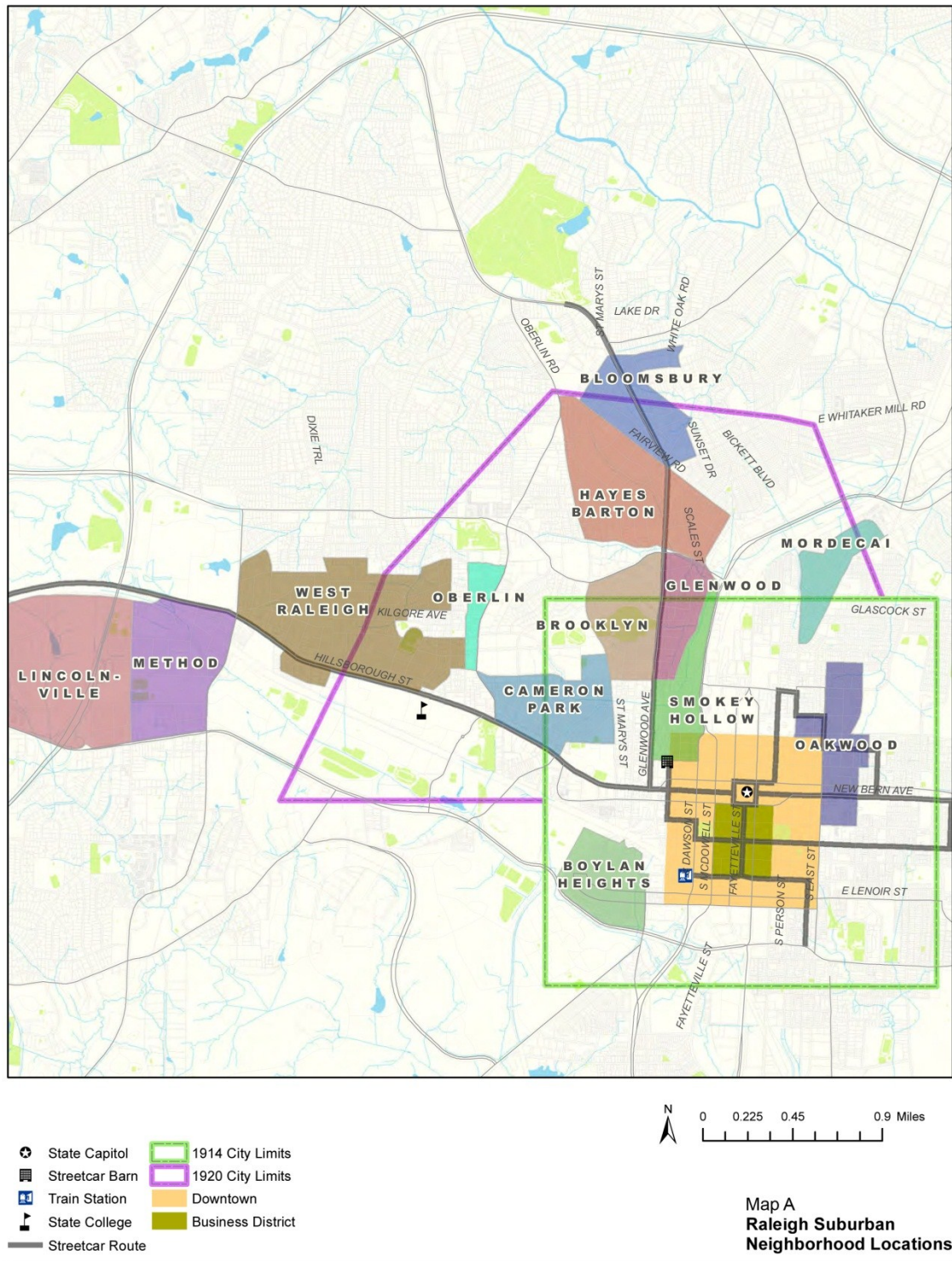


Figure 55. Map A: Raleigh Suburban Neighborhood Locations

Like The Gilford, The Johnson, and The York already discussed, The Fincher “reads” visually, architecturally, as a single-family house, as seen in Figure 54 above. The wide front porch is characteristic of the bungalow style of house building so popular at the time, as is the boxy exterior and low pitched roof. It is only the additional information from the city directories (including the listing under “Apartment Houses” and the list of tenants) and architectural analysis that indicate its use in the 1920s as a multi-family dwelling and not a single-family home.

In 1929, The Fincher was home to Edward Fincher, the owner, and his wife (listed as Annie B.) and three other African American couples. This included Mr. Frederick J. Conrad, an assistant distribution manager at North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, and his wife Marie; a Mr. Charles Perry, a bellman at the Sir Walter Hotel and his wife Bell, who also worked at the hotel as a maid; and a Mr. Wiley Hunter, whose occupation was “helper,” and his wife Lois. Unlike white-only apartment house buildings, The Fincher had a mixture of middle-class professionals, like Mr. Conrad, who worked for the African American owned and operated North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, living alongside working-class folks like the Perrys who worked as hotel servants.⁸⁴ Today, the building is no longer a private residence, but it is listed as having “four

⁸⁴ See North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, “Founders and Early History,” <http://www.ncmutualife.com/newsite/pages/about.html> (accessed August 1, 2009) for a history of the company which was based in Durham, North Carolina but also had Raleigh offices.

units” by the registrar of deeds.⁸⁵ When viewed from the side, instead of the front, it becomes easier to see how The Fincher was architecturally divided into four units, two on each story, one in the front and one in the back, as seen in Figure 56 below, the right side of the house.



Figure 56. Side View of The Fincher Apartment House. Taken from the corner of East Martin Street and Oak Street. Photograph taken by the author on July 9, 2010.

Edward Fincher not only owned and operated The Fincher Apartment house, but he also constructed it. His occupation in the 1929 city directory and

⁸⁵ See Wake County Real Estate Records, <http://services.wakegov.com/realestate/> (accessed, May 6, 2010) for deed dates.

on his death certificate from 1961 was listed as a “building contractor.”⁸⁶ As early as the 1920 U.S. Census, Fincher was listed as a “carpenter.”⁸⁷ Fincher’s pride in his work and in his business is evident in his personal marker, a bricked-out letter “F” in the side of The Fincher Apartment house, as seen in Figure 57 below. No other apartment house in Raleigh used the business model established by Edward Fincher. He combined the business relationships of realtor-developer, building contractor, owner, and landlord. His work provided important income for his family and also provided a housing opportunity for both working-class and middle-class African Americans in 1920s Raleigh.



Figure 57. Fincher’s “Mark” on The Fincher Apartment House. Photograph taken by the author on July 9, 2010.

⁸⁶ See *Raleigh City Directory*, 1929. See also Edward Fincher, “Certificate of Death,” (Raleigh, NC: North Carolina State Board of Health, Office of Vital Statistics, August 9, 1961).

⁸⁷ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census, 1920*, Durham Ward 3, Roll T625_1292, Page 3B, Enumeration District 54.

Conclusion

Real estate companies like Hornaday and Faucette, Parker-Hunter, and the Raleigh Realty Loan and Trust Company had “dwellings for rent” downtown, in places like Polk Street, in suburban developments, such as Boylan Heights, and far out along the streetcar lines off of Hillsboro Street and Woodburn Road.⁸⁸ These apartment house realtor-developers refined the idea of the “suburban ideal” by introducing a new housing form in Raleigh, that of the multi-family apartment house, which directly competed with single-family homes as the residence of choice for primarily white, middle-class professionals (and both working-class and middle-class African Americans in the case of The Fincher). By the end of the decade, writers on the subject of architecture recognized both the historic roots of the apartment house and its forward-looking function as a “modern” home. Architect Henry Wright, writing in a 1929 edition of *The Architectural Record*, articulated the building’s transition into something akin to a house:

To understand the evolution of the apartment one must recognize that it first came into being as an offshoot of the hotel; its function was to accommodate the semi-transient and well-to-do, who, for one reason or another, did not care to assume the responsibilities of a house. But the new trend, exemplified by those apartments

⁸⁸ The term “dwellings for rent” is used throughout the examples from the classified newspaper database for this project. The two advertisements referenced here are as follows, “DWELLINGS FOR RENT: POLK street, \$125.00; Halifax street, \$100.00; Boylan Heights. \$75.00. The Parker-Hunter Reality Company.” See Classifieds, *News and Observer*, October 1, 1922. “APARTMENTS 125 Hillsboro Street 131 Woodburn Road Dwellings and business houses PHONE 156 Realty Loan and Trust Co.” See also Classifieds, *News and Observer*, February 10, 1929.

which are invading our suburbs comes from the other extreme. Here we have a number of home units, combined or grouped together for convenience of service, differing widely in character from the *hotel* yet not far removed from the *house*.⁸⁹

Raleigh realtor-developers reinvented housing options for middle-class residents in the 1920s. Suburban investors like Daniel Allen, city leaders like lawyer Moses Amis, newspaper editor Josephus Daniels, and suburban developers of places such as the Cameron Park subdivision, had imagined a capital city whose fundamental building block was the single-family home. Realtor-developers like York and Drake offered an alternative by building luxury apartment houses in downtown, like The Capital and The Vance, and made those places a safe housing choice by choosing historicist architectural styles for the exteriors. Later, developers adapted the apartment house model to suburban neighborhoods by creating apartment houses which mimicked the look of its single-family home neighbors such as The Gilford, The York, and The Johnson. The apartment house was reinvented once again as a modern “model home” in the case of The Wilmont, which broke from the architectural pattern of suburban apartment houses blending into the single-family house style by introducing historicist architecture to a suburban building. Finally, Edward Fincher provided Raleigh realtor-developers with a different business model when he owned, built, operated, and lived in The Fincher House on East Martin Street.

⁸⁹ Henry Wright, “The Modern Apartment House,” *The Architectural Record: An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Architecture & The Allied Arts & Crafts*, 65, no. 3 (1929): 213-214.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Private homeowners in Raleigh, who subdivided their single-family homes into apartment spaces, and realtor-developers, who built places like The Capital, The Vance, and The Wilmont apartment houses, were not engaging in a revolution, but they did tamper with the city booster idea of Raleigh as a “residence city” dominated by single-family homes. They were economically motivated, in the case of private homeowners, to maintain their precarious grip on middle-class status and, in the case of realtor-developers, to further diversify their business investments. These two groups helped to solidify racial and economic segregation on the cityscape by participating in restrictive housing covenants, minimum lot and house cost regulations, and in renting apartment spaces to whites only.¹ But, the apartment was a modern housing choice that diverged from the traditional boarding house or residential hotel. It complicated the demographic profile of the suburb and the “suburban ideal” philosophy because it introduced extra inhabitants into homes designed as single-family and not multi-family housing spaces. Additionally, the apartment house form, introduced into the suburb, altered the look of neighborhoods designed for single-family houses.

¹ With the singular exception of The Fincher Apartments, which was African American owned and operated and thus rented to black residents only.

Suburbs, as planned developments, are inherently unnatural spaces. The picturesque natural settings, historicist architecture, technological amenities, and socio-economic homogeneity are the building blocks of this artificiality. Suburban neighborhoods pre-sorted for race and class were Raleigh's solution to the problem of developing a city where African American educational institutions and businesses had taken hold and working-class, rural residents migrated looking for housing and work. In North Carolina, a state that was 90 percent rural at the turn of the twentieth century, suburbanization occurred at the same time as did urbanization of her major cities, including Charlotte, Durham, Greensboro, Raleigh, and Winston-Salem.¹ As historian Margaret Supplee Smith has written about the cities of North Carolina, "Urbanization in early twentieth-century North Carolina took the form of a series of small cities located across the piedmont and associated with the growth of textile and tobacco industries."² That association with textiles and tobacco was not as important to the development of Raleigh, as a modern, southern city, as was the fact that Raleigh was an educational and government center of the state which had an economy based on goods and services rather than heavy industry.

While this dissertation focuses primarily on the exteriors of single-family homes and apartment houses in white suburban neighborhoods, the next logical step in the research process would be to take the project into the interior. I would

¹ Smith, "The American Idyll," 24.

² Ibid.

like to evaluate the cultural history behind the introduction of the apartment form in North Carolina—to find out how people talked about it, the vocabulary that was used, what people were saying about these spaces. I am left with questions about how the apartment form became a part of the popular discourse of Raleigh residents. I would like to evaluate apartments from the point of view of popular literature and magazines such as the *Ladies Home Journal*. I would like to investigate house decorating manuals, such as Ekin Wallick's *Inexpensive Furnishings in Good Taste* and *The Small House for a Moderate Income*, to learn how these middle-class conspicuous consumers of the 1920s outfitted the interiors of apartments and single-family homes.³ It might also be possible to do a material culture analysis of artifacts in the collections of the North Carolina Museum of History and the Raleigh City Museum to find objects directly related to home life in the 1920s.

This project evaluates Raleigh's white suburban neighborhoods in the 1920s, but I would like to expand it to include an assessment of Raleigh's African American urban and suburban communities as well. To do this presents a huge challenge as much of the architectural record of these neighborhoods was destroyed in the late twentieth century and the original residents have long since died. However, there is much demographic information about occupations, marital status, and business development that could be gleaned from city

³ See Ekin Wallick, *Inexpensive Furnishings in Good Taste* (New York: Hearst's International Library Company, 1925). See also Ekin Wallick, *The Small House for a Moderate Income* (New York: Hearst's International Library Company, 1925).

directory records on the African American population of Raleigh. The high rates of African American boarding house operation across the state and the persistence of that housing pattern in downtown Raleigh, throughout the 1920s, warrants further investigation. Both the city directories and boarding house research could help to illuminate working-class African American life in Raleigh, as well as a photographic survey of the remaining shotgun houses in the Method and Oberlin communities.

The development of suburban African American neighborhoods, such as South Park, by the white-owned Raleigh Real Estate and Trust Company, begs comparison with those developed by African American investors such as Berry O'Kelly who built a General Store and helped finance houses in the Method Community or Calvin E. Lightner who built the famous Lightner Arcade, a black hotel, club, barbershop, and business complex in downtown Raleigh.⁴ How did the financing, marketing, and architecture of these African American-developed suburban and urban projects differ from those of white-owned projects? Investors such as Lightner built business along East Hargett Street which came to be known as Raleigh's "Negro Main Street" in the 1920s. A discussion of this black business district in comparison with others in cities in North Carolina, such as Durham's Hayti community, is another fruitful avenue of research. Consultation with the staff of Raleigh's African American Cultural Complex as well as the Olivia Raney Local History Library might also yield access to further

⁴ See Simmons-Henry and Edmisten, *Culture Town*.

material culture and documentary sources. I would like to push the analysis further on middle-class African American neighborhoods, by looking at the university archives of both Saint Augustine's College and Shaw University to find any records associated with faculty who were residents of the surrounding suburban neighborhoods as well.⁵

The architectural record of Raleigh is rapidly changing. All across the original downtown business district and into the suburban neighborhoods of the 1910s, 1920s, 1930s, and post-World War II period, buildings are threatened by new residential and retail development. It is through the work of local historians, state preservation offices, and scholars like myself that the built landscape of towns and cities can be studied and, hopefully, retained because as historian Charlotte V. Brown has written about the preservation of Raleigh's suburban neighborhoods of the 1920s, "As man-made artifacts, their architecture as well as their locations are testimony to the rise of the middle class with its inherent conservatism and its search for a place to belong."⁶ The evolution of Raleigh's neighborhoods and her building history certainly deserve a primary place on the research agenda of vernacular architectural historians.

⁵ The house museum, artifacts, family diaries, and other records of such famous Raleigh residents as Dr. Manassas Thomas Pope, who was a practicing medical physician in Raleigh in the early 1900s and ran for mayor of Raleigh in 1919, is a treasure trove of resources to help illuminate life about middle-class African Americans in the city in the 1920s. See The Pope House Museum Foundation, "Family History," <http://www.popehousemuseum.org/index.shtml> (accessed December 15, 2011).

⁶ Brown, "Three Raleigh Suburbs," 37.

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United States Census (1920)

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Olivia Raney Local History Library, Raleigh, North Carolina

Elizabeth Reid Murray Collection

State Library of North Carolina, Raleigh, North Carolina

North Carolina State Board of Health Vital Statistics

Books, Directories, Magazines, Newspapers, Pamphlets:

A City Plan for Raleigh (1913)

Cameron Park: Its Purpose, Its Attainments, and Its Future Outlook, 1910-1914 (1914)

Catalogue of Craftsman Furniture (1909)

Daily State Chronicle (1890)

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APPENDIX A

SINGLE-FAMILY HOMES RESIDENTS DATA

Raleigh City Directories 1922, 1926, 1929

Street Address	1921/1922 Residents	1926 Residents	1929 Residents
113 1/2 Chamberlain St.	No listing	1-Webb, Frederick A. (113)-salesman 2-MacKnight, K. H. (113 ½) –no listing	1-Britton, L.E. (113)-traveling salesman 2-Tebell, Gustave K. (113 ½)-teacher NC State College
223 E. Pace St.	1-Crowder, James T.-watchman 2-Crowder, Ava E. Miss 3-Crowder, Estelle M. Miss 4-Crowder, Hubert G. –clk Wilson's Cigar Stores 5-Crowder, Mary E. Miss	1-Swisher, John F.-carpenter 2-Swisher, Thelma Miss-operator Southern Bell Telephone & Telegraph Co 3-Kinlaw, James H.-painter	1-King, J. Loomis 2-King, Roxie Mrs.-linen bland Hotel 2-Harris, Howard B.-assistant pressman News and Observer 3- Harris, Lenore
226 Hillsboro St.	1-Miller, Robert L-sec-treas Central Motors Inc. 2-Ogilby, Eleanor Mrs.-widow of E.L. Ogilby	1-Gaillard, Horace S.-examiner U.S. Warehouse Act 2-Gaillard, Julia L Miss 3-Gray, David-secretary BPO Elks, Raleigh Lodge	Gaillard, Horace S.
309 Linden Ave.	No listing	1-Teachey, James M.-city superintendent of streets 2-Teachey, Caroline G. Miss- president Teachey's Ladies' Misses' Ready-to-wear garments	Teachey, Jas M.

Street Address	1921/1922 Residents	1926 Residents	1929 Residents
314 E. Park Dr.	No listing	Ashworth, William A.- engineer	Ashworth, Wm A.
327 W. Morgan St. (boarding house)	1-Sale, Georgie O. Mrs. 2- Sale, Evelyn J. Miss 3- Sale, Ruth A. Miss	Sale, Georgia O. Mrs.	Sale, Georgia O. Mrs.
412 N. Bloodworth St. (has a 1919 listing too)	1- Hogue, William E. (1921-1922)-finisher 2-Hogue, George (1922)- make up man News & Observer 1-Bumgardner, Lawrence R.-engineer (1919-1920)	1-Hogue, William E.- painter 2-Hogue, George E.- printer The News and Observer	1-Miller , Ellen M. Mrs.-widow W.R. 2-Hogue, William. E. 3- Hogue, George E.- printer The News and Observer 4-Hogue, Lucy H. Mrs. (William)
412 New Bern Ave.	No listing	1-Horwitz, Philip- proprietor Raleigh Loan Office 2-Horton, Otis R.- clerk Wachovia Bank & Trust Co.	Horwitz, Philip
418 N. Person St.	1-Hicks, Annie C. Mrs.- widow Daniel Hicks 2- Hicks, William F. mchst	Hicks, Annie C. Mrs.	Hicks, Annie C. Mrs.
424 E. Jones St.	1-Howell, Timothy E. (African American)- boilermkr 2-Howell, Andrew J. - fireman	Straughn, J.B.- proprietor Bland Hotel Barber Shop	Straughn, J. Bruce
501 Cleveland St.	1-Keene, Frederick W. Rev	Keene, F.W. Rev.	1-Keene, Frederick W. Rev 2-Morgan, Edward P.- clerk A S Morgan 3-Morgan, Elizabeth Mrs. 4-Wood, John P.- junior shipping clerk

Street Address	1921/1922 Residents	1926 Residents	1929 Residents
502 Cole St.	No listing	1-Mallory, Harry-flagman 2-Reynolds, Van B.-fireman	1-Mallory, Harry 2-Reynolds, Van B.
503 Cole St.	No listing	1-Bryan, Katie H. Mrs.- widow R.H. Bryan –employee State Auto License Dept. 2-Lloyd, Zeno L.- arcman C P & L 3-Lloyd, Gladys Mrs.- stenographer Holcomb & Hoke Mfg Co.	1-Bryan, Kate H. Mrs. 2-Lloyd, Z. Leon
504 N. Person St.	1-Rawls, Joseph H.- Baker & Rawls	1-Rozar, Augustus W.- engineer 2-Williams, Homer T.- bookbinder Coml Ptg Co	1-Blankenship, Jas E.- traveling salesman 2-Blankenship, Metta Mrs. 3-Shellhorse, America Mrs.- widow George L. Shellhorse 3-Cameron, Donald B.- 4-Cameron, Edna W. Mrs.- North State Ptg Co
507 N. Blount St.	1-Bing, Ashley E.- national bank examiner	Barbee, Claude B., Jr.- (B & Co.) cotton broker	Vacant
510 Tilden St.	No listing	1-Turner, G. Hubert-salesman Dunn Bros 2-Bazemore, Edgar P.-advertisement department C P & L Co	1-Turner, Geo H. 2-Munson, Jas I.-plant superintendent Buckeye Cotton Oil Co 3-Munson, Katie L. Mrs.
512 Oakwood Ave.	1-Reynolds, Thomas B.-Hay Bros & Reynolds and notary	Caudle, T.J.-no listing	1-Eason, Solomon W.- lawyer 2-Eason, Mary L. Mrs.
515 N. Boundary St.	No listing	No listing	No listing
521 N. East St.	1-Stevens, Mary E. Mrs.-widow Thad Stevens 2-Stevens, Owen-painter 3-Stevens, Paul-clerk 4-Stevens, Wilbur-fish 5-Stevens, Ava Miss	1-Kelly, H.Finn-fireman 2-Riggan, Benjamin W.-flagman	1-Davis, Fitzgerald E.- solicitor News and Observer Pub Co. 2-Davis, Marjorie Mrs. 3-Warren, Harry B.- bookkeeper Atlantic Life Insurance Co

Street Address	1921/1922 Residents	1926 Residents	1929 Residents
523 N. Bloodworth St.	1-Slaughter, Joshua H.- mfrs agt	1-Walton, Ella O. Mrs.-widow J.E. Walton 2-Walton, Ruth O Miss 3-Walton, Thelma L. Miss-stenographer McPherson & Barnes	1-Barnes, William W.- printer Coml Printing Co 2-Barnes, Belle Mrs.
555 New Bern Ave.	1-Vaughan, Grover B.- agent American National Insurance Company of Galveston, TX	Yates, M.L.-no listing	Vacant
603 Elm St.	1-Whitten, William H.- insurance	Jenkins, James E.- tilestr	1-Johnson, L. Hurley-mechanic Sanders Motor Co Inc. 2-Johnson Verta M. Mrs.
604 N. Blount St.	1-Herring, Vara L. Miss 2- Herring, Pauline Miss 3-Herring, P. Eugenia Miss 4- Herring, Mary B. Miss 5- Herring, Lucy C. Miss 6-Herring, Kate M. Miss	1-Herring, Vara L. Miss 2- Herring, Pauline Miss 4- Herring, Mary L. Miss-clerk The News & Observer 5- Herring, Lucy C. Miss-teacher King's Business College	1-Herring, Zara L.
614 Polk St.	1-O'Quinn, Jesse L.- florist 2-Coble Edwin L.- florist 3- O'Quinn J.L. & Co-floral shop	Stuckey, J.L.-wrong address	1-Johnson, Berta Mrs.-clerk 2-Thomas, Claire S. Mrs.-widow Frederick J. Thomas 3-Phillips, Thomas M.- clerk State Treasury 4-Phillips, Hallie F. Mrs.
716 W. Hargett St.	1-Campbell, W.Ronald-Campbell - Warner Co. Monuments 716 ½ Vacant	1-Bishop, Calvin C.- guard State Prison 2-Reeves, William W.- manager D.E. Graham & Co. 3-Howard, Elizabeth M. Mrs.-dressmaker	Vacant

Street Address	1921/1922 Residents	1926 Residents	1929 Residents
818 N. Person St.	1-Scarborough, Otho W.-flagman 2-Scarborough, Cornelia Miss	No listing	No listing
1306 Mordecai Dr.	No listing	Vacant	Vacant
1412 Glenwood Ave.	No listing	1-Vinson, Dempsey W.-salesman 2-Nicholson, David B.-purchasing agent State Laboratory of Hygiene	1-Vinson, Dempsey W. 2-Kennedy, J. Everett-president Cascade Laundry Co Inc. 3-Kennedy, Blonnie C. Mrs.-Raleigh French Dry Cleaning & Dyeing Co
111 E. North St.	No listing	Pell, George P.-commissioner State Corp Commission	Pell, Geo P.
209 E. Peace	1-Teiser, William-salesman 2- Teiser, Rebecca Miss	Sauls, Charles H.-division superintendent S A L ry	1-Boney, Danl C.-commissioner State Insurance Dept. 2-Boney, Charlotte Mrs.
209 Linden Ave.	No listing	No listing	No listing
219 E. North St.	1-Shepherd, S.Brown-attorney	1-Shepherd, S. Brown-attorney 2-Shepherd James E.-student 3-Shepherd S. Brown Jr.-student	McKearn, Jas T.-no listing
305 Cutler St.	1-Turner, William C.-grocer at 309 Cutler	Turner, William C.-grocer	1-Parrack, Vasco R.-estimator C P & L Co. 2-Parrack, Edna R. Mrs. 3-Turner, William C. 4-Sallinger, Muriel C.-clerk Ry Exp Agency 5-Sallinger, Virginia Mrs.
305 Linden Ave.	1-Teachey, James M., Jr.-salesman 2-Teachey, John W. 3-Teachey, James M.-city superintendent of streets 4-Teachey Caroline G. Miss- with Miss Sadie M. King Inc.	1-Whitson, Julia S. Mrs. 2-Murdock, John E.-chief shipping clerk W. H. King Drug Co. Inc.	1-Harper, George A.-insurance 2-Harper, Helen R. Mrs. 3-Lowzow, Einar-draftsman C P & L Co 4-Lowzow, Tordis O. Mrs. 5-Walker, Jos W. 6-Walker, Hattie-Wright & Walker

Street Address	1921/1922 Residents	1926 Residents	1929 Residents
307 Cutler St.	1-Moore, William T.- DTM & Son (David T. and William T. real estate, rental, and fire insurance agents	Graham, Waller B.- signalman	No listing
312 Linden Ave.	1-Fleming, Thomas H.- huckster	1-Fulenwider, Robert- clerk Southern States Iron Roofing Co. 2-Ludwig, Theodore E.-branch manager Holcomb & Hoke Mfg. Co.	1-Morris, Chas. A.- manager 2-Morris, Ray Mrs. 3-Upchurch, L. Lee- carpenter 4-Upchurch, Nancy Mrs.
313 Polk St.	No listing	No listing	1-Pizer, Max-Pizer Bros 2-Pizer, Libbie Mrs.
324 S. Boylan Ave.	1-Oliver, William H.- secretary-treasurer Wake County Cotton Seed Company	Oliver, William H.- Wake County Cotton Seed Co.	1-Byrd, Geo B.-mill superintendent 2-Byrd, Vannie H. Mrs.
403 Polk St.	No listing	No listing	No listing
408 S. Boylan Ave.	1-Newman, William W.-	1-Goodman, Alford V.- bookkeeper Carolina Storage and & Distributing Co. 2-Hall, Alton C.-lawyer 3-Hall, Edna Miss- saleslady Boylan- Pearce Co. Inc.	1-McLean, Mary K.- department U.S. Marshal 2-Separk, Charles P. 3-Separk, Pauline B. Mrs.- McKenzie & Separk 4- Honeycutt, Lester D.-installer Southern Bell & Telegraph Co 5-Honeycutt, Myrtle P. Mrs.
422 Cutler St.	1-Oldham, George A.- assistant manager Oldham & Worth Inc.	1-Oldham, George A.- secretary Oldham & Worth Inc. 2-Oldham, C. Carroll	Oldham, Geo A.
422 N. Blount St.	1-Lee, Paul H.	1-Lee, Paul H. 2-Tyson, Margaret L. Mrs.-widow R.L. Tyson	Lee, Paul H.
501 Polk St.	1-Heilig Mary E. Mrs.- widow H.J. Heilig	1-Heilig Mary E. Mrs.- widow H.J. Heilig 2-Heilig, Mary A Miss	1-Hoff, F. Theo- chiropractor 2-Hoff, Helen Mrs.
510 Polk St.	1- Prince, Robert E.- real estate agent, farm and timber lands Tucker Building 2-Prince R. Graham- musician	1-Prince, Robert E.- Prince Realty Co. 2-Prince R. Graham- secretary 3-Prince, Alton E. - salesman	Prince, Massie Mrs.

Street Address	1921/1922 Residents	1926 Residents	1929 Residents
511 E. Jones St.	1-Spruill, Corydon P.- bookkeeper Thomas H. Briggs & Sons	1-Spruill, Corydon P.- bookkeeper Thomas H. Briggs & Sons 2-Snow, Raymond A.- office manager C P & L Co. 3-Snow, Josephine Mrs.- stenographer Caveness Produce Co. 4-Graham, James G.- manager Athletic Supply Co.	1-Spruill, Corydon P. 2-Graham, Jas G.
511 Oakwood Ave.	1-Savage, W. Clark- bookkeeper CP & L Co. 2-Savage Ruth P. Miss- secretary to manager The Equitable Life Assurance Society of U.S. 3-Savage, Annie D.- widow J.L. Savage	1-Stokes, William N.- salesman 2-Moore, Harley C.- conductor	1-Henson, Grover C.- traveling salesman 2-Henson, Ruth Mrs. 3-Murray, Chas H.- 4-Murray, Edna Mrs- Raleigh Glass Co.
516 N. Person St.	1-Russell, R.D.-no listing	Russell, Robert D.- foreman	Russell, Robt. D.
527 N. East St.	1-Bland, Anna K. Mrs.- widow J.T. 2-Pegram Alice Miss	Holeman, James W.- Holeman Produce Co.	Vacant
545 E. Jones St.	1-Upchurch, Clyde C.- store manager J. M. Darden & Co. 2-Upchurch Florence M.-widow C.M. Upchurch	1-Upchurch, Clyde C.- manager J.M. Darden & Co. Inc. 2-Upchurch Clyde C. Mrs.- laboratory technician Dr. Verne S. Caviness	Upchurch, Clyde C.
608 E. Hargett St.	1-Beine, Charles H.- farmer	Beasley & Peddy-S.E. Beasley & D.M. Peddy plastering contractors, plain and ornamental plastering	1-Cottle, William E.- salesman 2-Cottle, Lucretia Mrs. 3-Allen, Maude Mrs.- widow Austin Allen 4-Lee, M. Harvey- salesman Jas H. Farley 5-Lee, Jennie Mrs.

Street Address	1921/1922 Residents	1926 Residents	1929 Residents
628 W. Jones St.	1-Deaton, Isaiah M. 2-Deaton, Lloyd M.- clerk Am Ry Express 3- Deaton, May Miss 4-Deaton, Louis N.- bookkeeper The Citizens National Bank 5- Deaton, Rachel Miss	1-Deaton, Isaiah M.- real estate 2-Deaton, Allen J.- elevator operator 3-Deaton, Louis N.- bookkeeper The Citizens National Bank 4-Deaton, May Miss- teacher	Thornton, Minnie Mrs.- widow William S. Thornton
701 E. Franklin St.	1-Jarrett, John N.- insurance	Jarrett, John N.- insurance agent	1-Martin, Maury E.- salesman Sinclair Refining Co. 2-Martin, Jane Mrs.
705 E. Hargett St.	1-McLeod, N.Thomas- student	Wall, Henry P.- assistant manager Koonce Furniture Store	1-Wall, Pattie Mrs. 2-Horton, Willis B. (705 ½)-state employee 3-Horton, Vivian Mrs.
710 E. Franklin St.	No listing	Caddell, Clement- purchasing agent Boylan's Inc.	1-Howard, Earl N.- clerk Wachovia Bank & Trust Co. 2-Howard, Mattie Mrs.
712 W. Jones St.	1-Fuller, McK L-no listing	Mowery, Thomas H.- yard conductor	1-Jones, Jas C.- fireman 2-Jones, Katie P. Mrs.
717 W. Morgan St.	No listing	Honeycutt, H.H.- deputy warden State Prison	Honeycutt, Haywood H.
719 W. Morgan St.	1-Duke, Otho G. (incorrectly listed at 719 W. Hargett)- engineer 2-Goodrich, C.R.	1-Carter, Harold E.- salesman 2-Brickman, Burton C.-salesman 3-Brickman, Burton C. Mrs.- saleslady W.T. Grant Co. 4-Brickman, Frederick K.- clerk Philip D. Gattis 5-Brickman, Mary Miss- saleslady Rose's	1-Chappell, Otis E.- auto mechanic 2-Chappell, Ressie R. Mrs.
802 W. South St.	No listing	Wood, Lehman-adv manager C P & L Co.	1-Briscoe, J. Douglas- chauffeur 2-Briscoe, Doris Mrs. 3-Pulley, Marvin E.- chauffeur 4-Pulley, Agnes M. Mrs.

Street Address	1921/1922 Residents	1926 Residents	1929 Residents
903 W. Lenoir St.	1-Utley, William W.- grocer	1-Duncan, William M.- secretary-treasurer Capital Feed & Grocery Co. 2-George, Mary B. Miss-	Duncan, William M.

APPENDIX B

APARTMENT HOUSE RESIDENTS DATA

Raleigh City Directory 1918-1919

Apartment House Name	Address	Resident Names
Capital Apartments	New Bern Avenue corner of Blount	<p>J.G. Allen- John G., cotton W.G. Allen- William G., Allen Bros. & Fort E.C. Bagwell-Eugene C., none Mrs. S.H. Busbee- Sallie H., wid F.H. Herbert Carroll- no listing Mrs. M.K. Crow- Maria K. Crow wid Clinton C. Mrs. M.K. Crowell- Marguerite K., wid Charles B. F.A. Fetter- Frederic A., mgr. Jefferson Standard Life Ins Co E.S. Freeman- Edgar S., agency super visor Fidelity Mutual Life Ins Co of Phila H.J. Gerken- Henry J., office mgr The Natl Cash Register Co E.E. Gray, Jr.- Eugene E., dep State Ins Comr, State Depts. Bldg Mrs. S.D. Harden- Sue D., none J.H. Hightower- John H., asst cashr and notary Merchants National Bank C.H. Hoppe- Clyde H., mgr Dail-Overland Co. E.W. Knight- Edgar W., county supt public instruction Court House V.J. Lee- Virgil J., trav salesman H.M. Lynde- Harry M., senior engnr State Co-Operative Drainage investigation J.C. McDonald- John C., pres McDonald & Thomas Inc and Hotel Wright (phone) Charles McKimmon- none James McKimmon- (McK and McKee),pres Raleigh Ins & Realty Co. Mrs. Margaret McKimmon- Miss Margaret listed I.B. Mullis- Ira B., office and testing engnr NC State Highway Commission G.J. Ramsey- George J., federal director US Employment Service for NC, pres South Atlantic Teachers' Bureau P.E. Seagle- Perry E., mgr Ginn & Co Mrs. M.B. Terrell- Mamie B., wid W.D. princ AA Thompson Public School Miss Margaret Terrell- none (not listed under apartment name, but by last name) L.S. Thompson- Lawrence S., v-pres Dunn,</p>

		<p>Marsh, & Thompson Inc E.W. Thornton- Ernest W., asst State Food & Oil Chemist P.A. Tillery- Paul A., asst gen mgr and chf engnr Carolina Power & Light Co and Yadkin River Power Co P.Y. Timmons- P. Yates, trav salesman J.T. West- J. Townley, pres The City Bank and div passgr agt S A L Ry (phone) K.W. Yates- K. Wayland, auto mech</p>
College Court Apartments	1900 Hillsboro Road corner Oberlin Road	<p>H.C. Bowden- Henry C., trav salesman P.D. Davis- Paul D., dist traffic chf So Bell Tel & Tel Co (phone) C.A. Richardson- Cleveland A., pres-treas Realty Loan & Trust Co and v-pres Raleigh Rental & Insurance Agency Inc Mrs. M.E. Robbins- Minnie E., wid J.H. R.A. Robbins- Robert A., trav salesman L.T. Yarborough- Louis T, USPO Inspr PO Bldg</p>
Raleigh Apartments	221 S. McDowell	<p>T.W. Adams- lino opr Edwards & Broughton Ptg Co J.D. Alexander- trav salesman B.S. Aronson- Bernard S. (A & Browne) sec-treas-mgr Capital Amusement Co Inc (phone) Miss M.M. Bagwell- Minnie M., grant clk Secretary of State M.A. Blackburn- none A.C. Bizzelle- A. Clyde, condr J.A. Butler- James A., optician H. Mahler's Sons L.N. Cain- Lewis N., condr C.C. Carpenter- trav auditor S A L Ry H. Carrow- none Marion Cobb- mgr Strand Theater J.P. Cresswell- James P. chf clk The Bland Hotel H.D. Daniels- Harlan A. Daniels, mgr optical dept H. Mahler's Sons J.P. Deans- James P. condr J.S. Griffin- James S., tax clk State Corp Commission Mrs. H.L. Hansen- none Lee Hayes- mgr US Tire Co Solon Jacobs- sec-treas Jacobs-Kaplan Co and Globe Clothing Co J.I. Johnson- Hon. James I., mayor of Raleigh, office Municipal Bldg, pres. The Raleigh Bldg & Loan Assn (phone) George Keyes- engnr C.F. Koonce- Charles F. (K Bros), pres Union Herald Publishing Co and editor Union Herald</p>

		<p>Mrs. Leah Levine- wid David, mgr Ladies' Shop</p> <p>G.R. Lowen- Guy R., optician H. Mahler's Sons</p> <p>Major J.D. Langston- spl aide to the Governor</p> <p>J.D. Lanier- John D., dispatcher S A L Ry Co</p> <p>H.L. Manning- Horace L, travl salesman</p> <p>Mrs. N.R. Mayo- Nonie R., wid Howard</p> <p>C.N. Monroe- none</p> <p>J.D. Newson- James D., Carolina Realty Co and notary 1103 Citizens Bank Bldg</p> <p>Mrs. M.L. Remington- none</p> <p>John Rowe- trav salesman</p> <p>J.L. Singleton- condr</p> <p>J.H. Slaughter- trav salesman</p> <p>Mrs. D.M Smith- Dixie M., wid Weldon</p> <p>F.L. Stockwell- Frank L, mstr mechanic S A L Ry</p> <p>D.J. Thompson- David J. pres-treas Thompson Electrical Co Inc (phone)</p> <p>J.W. Thompson- J. Walter, engr</p> <p>Mrs. A.L. Wilcox- none</p> <p>M.L. Yates- Mack L, mchst</p>
Royster Building	423-423 ½ Fayetteville	<p>Mrs. Bettie Breckinridge- wid J.L.</p> <p>Mrs. C.S. Fielding- Cora S. state mgr Woodmen of World Circle</p> <p>Mrs. S.C. Hicks- Sallie C., wid J.W.</p> <p>Mrs. M. E. Hodge- Martha E., wid W.T.</p> <p>Mrs. M.H. Love- Maude H., wid J.W.</p> <p>L.L. McDonald- Lilly L., ydmstr</p> <p>A.G. Nowell- Arthur G., (McLeod & Watson Co)</p> <p>Dr. H.A. Royster- Hubert A., surgeon</p> <p>Dr. W.I. Royster- Wisconsin I., phys</p> <p>Mrs. L.D. Tomlinson- Lillian D., wid W.C.</p>

Raleigh City Directory 1925

Apartment House Name	Address	Resident Names
The Bailey	200 E. Edenton	Rev. R.W. Bailey Brock Barkley - correspondent W.S. Boyd - Spotswood, auto trucks 417 S. Wilmington J.M. Carmines - Jno M, clk Noland Co Inc Dr. P.G. Fox - Powell G, phys 135 Fayetteville 3d fl W.A. Mabry - Wm A, propr Capitol Drug Store Miss Louise Mahler- boarding C.M. Pollard - Carl M., slsmn Bragg Hadwe Co G.O. Randall - Glenn O, trav slsmn W.W. Wilson - no listing
Baker Apartments	708-710 N. Person	Mrs. C.H. Baker - Charity H., wid T A F.E. Bell - Frank E., meatctr Piggly Wiggly W.C. Crabtree - Wm C, tailor J.F. Davidson - J. Fredk, foreman E.W. Harris - Everett W, interior decorator C.A. Smith - Clarence A., emp State Highway Commission
Capital Apartments	127 New Bern Avenue	Miss S.G. Allen - Sarah G, clk State Food & Oil Chemist L.R. Ames - Leslie R, asst chairman State Highway Commission Dingley Brown - director of music Meredith College (phone) R.A. Brown - Robt A, asst cashr The Citizens Natl Bank phone) E.T. Burr -Edward T, actuary Durham Life ins Co and v-pres D & S Motor Co Inc Mrs. S.H. Busbee - Sallie H, wid F H Mrs. M.K. Crow - Maria K, wid C C Dr. J.R. Crozier - J Richard, osteopathic physician (Crozier Health Institute), Hotel Sir Walter (phone) G.H. Eaddy - Geo H., slsmn H.J. Gerken - Henry J, bkkpr H Mahler's Sons C.E. Hanbury - Carter E- clk N-S R R OR Clarence E. engnr C.K. Hill - Carl K, auditor State Auditor Elizabeth Kelly -educational agt Tob Growers Co-Op Assn H.O. Lineberger - Henry O, dentist Odd Fellows' Bldg 11-19 W Hargett (phone) J.C. McDonald - Jno C., pres-treas McDonald Paint & Specialty Co (phone) Charles McKimmon - no occupation listed W.S. McKimmon - Wm S, ins agt T.F. Maguire - Thos F Jr, cashr Wachovia Bank & Trust Co (phone) W.C. Mallonee -Wm C, v-pres R G Lassiter & Co

		and asst treas Raleigh Granite Co Mrs. E.N. Marshall - Ethel N, wid J K, clk N C State Auto License Dept G.W. Marshall - Geo W (Marshall Mfg Co) Mrs. E.H. Paul - Emeline H., mgr Viava Co proprietary medicines L.W. Payne - Louis W, civ engnr H.M. Pleasants - H McKay, teller Raleigh Banking & Trust Co G.J. Ramsey - Geo J, office 234 Fayetteville R510, mgr Rand McNally & Co. Miss E.G. Riddick - Elsie G, clk State Corporation Commission Mrs. M.C. Smith - Mamie C, wid E D
College Court Apartments	1904 ½ Hillsboro	W.R. Phillips - Wm R, trav slsmn D.H. Powell - D Henry, laboratory asst State Highway commission C.A. Richardson - Cleveland A, pres-treas Realty Loan & Trust Co., pres Capital Hotel Corp and justice of the peace (phone)
Cooper Apartments	17 Glenwood Avenue	C.C. Chinnis -Commodore C., mgr Guaranty Title & Trust Corp A.F. Guirkin - Alfred F, real estate Earl Johnson - sec-treas Moore & Johnson Co and notary (phone) C.B. Park, Jr. - Chas B, slsmn
Graystone Apartments	701 N. Blount	Miss G.L. Bush -Gertrude L, no occupation listed H.G. Knight -H Glenn, sec Hotel Sir Walter M.A. Lambert - M Ashby, atty at law and notary over Grant's Store 210 Fayetteville (phone) F.W. Reebals -Fred W., clk Wachovia Bank & Trust Co.
Guirkin Apartments	608 Hillsboro	Rupert Caviness - Serv-U-Grocery 1205 Hillsboro (owned by Rupert and Branson Caviness) G.N. Charlton - Geo N, engnr B.L. Grier - Benj J, trav slsmn C.E. Latham - Clarence E, State Bank Examiner J.K. MacCarthy - J Karl, signal mfr E.F. Peschau - Ernest F, adjuster So Adjustment Bureau
Hart Apartments	9-15 Glenwood Avenue	J.C. Bozeman - Jno C, branch magr The Great A & P Tea Co, 9 Glenwood Mrs. L.D. Bozeman - Lizzie D, wid M V, no occupation listed, 9 Glenwood J.O. Canady - James O, slsmn Singer Sewing Mch Co, 9 Glenwood R.W. Tarlton - Roy W, brick contr, 9 Glenwood W.W. White - Winfield W, carp, 9 Glenwood
Hillcrest Apartments	1500 Hillsboro	C.H. Andrews - Chas H, supt A.S. Brower - Alfred S, business mgr N C State

		College of Agriculture and Engineering (phone) W.L. Nevins- Walter L, lumberman
Irene Apartments	7 Glenwood Avenue	Miss M.M. Smith- Miss Maude M, no occupation listed
Jennings Apartments	401 S. McDowell	W.A. Finnell- Walter A, tinner D.L. Hedrick- David L, vulcanizer E.S. King- Elmer S (E S King Bindery) owner A.W. Martin- Archie W, lino opr The News & Observer Raleigh Towel Supply Co. B.J. Utley- Bennett J, pres Raleigh Towel Supply Co and clk P O (phone) L.E. Winters- L Earl, fireman R F D
Johnson Apartments	122 Hillcrest Road	Miss Catherine Allen- head prof modern languages Meredith College H.T. Bronson- Henry T., actuary State Ins Dept J.A. Johnson- J. Albert, no occupation listed E.C. Murphy- Emor C, clk Carolina Mortgage & Indemnity Co Victor Schur- sec-treas J E Beaman Construction Co and sec State Theater Inc Wm. Teiser- trav slsmn
Phillips Apartments	102 Logan Court (formerly Harris)	W.H. Darst- Willard H, tchr N C State College, listed at 1609 Park Drive not Logan Court H.T. Davis- Harry T, asst curator State Museum Bldg B.T. Ferguson- B Troy, dist agt Mrs. B.M. Mathews- Blanna M, wid W G, daughter Blanna also, no occupation listed for either Miss C.E. Phillips- Carrie E, propr French Hat Shop
Phillips Apartments	700 W. Morgan	Mrs. M.M. Blue- Margaret M, wid M J, no occupation listed J.L. Dorminy- James L, owner Raleigh Ice & Storage Co Rev. W.M. Gilmore- Walter M, stewardship sec Baptist State Convention F.H. Phillips- Fletcher H., owner Wake Feed Co, listed at 14 S. Boylan Ave not Morgan St. D.D. Traywick- David D, director warehousing N C Cotton Growers Co-Op Assn
Royster Apartments	423-423 ½ Fayetteville	O.A. Adams- O Allen, foreman C C Motor Co Miss Grace Bailey- trained nurse L.D. Hockaday- Lemuel D, clk P O Dr. H.A. Royster- Hubert A, phys and chf surgeon St Agnes Hospital, office not home is in this building, lives in Bloomsbury
The Vance	105 E. Edenton	Mrs. A.E. Allen- Annie E, wid C S J.T. Banks- Joseph T, trav slsmn W.C. Bateman- Walter C, trav slsmn W.J. Boon- Wiley J, pres Boon-Isley Drug Co

		<p>J.W. Boren-J W, clk</p> <p>W.L. Brogden- Wm L, pres-treas W L Brogden Co, whole produce</p> <p>J.R. Collie- James R, gen dep comr</p> <p>Jack Cussons- Jack, bkkpr Taylor's ladies ready-to-wear, millinery, children's clothing, jewelry, watches</p> <p>T.W. Dobbin- Theo W, pres T W Dobbin Co Inc</p> <p>F.F. Drake- Fredk F, slsmn</p> <p>J.K. Fitzpatrick- James K, dist mgr</p> <p>C.B. Garrett, Jr.- Chas B, slsmn Roscoe-Griffin Shoe Co</p> <p>P.B. Hulfish- Paul B, mgr N C Inspection & Rating Bureau (phone)</p> <p>G.A. Iseley- Geo A, sec-treas Boon-Iseley Drug Co</p> <p>L.M. Jones- Leon M, sec-treas-mgr Capital City Laundry (phone)</p> <p>W.C. Jones- Wm C, clk Noland Co Inc, wholesale plumbing & heating supplies</p> <p>Mrs. Mollie Latta- wid C G, no occupation listed</p> <p>B.B. Lumsden- Bernard B., clk Southeastern Demurrage & Storage Bureau</p> <p>W.T. Medlin- owner The Toyland Co</p> <p>Jno Mitchell- state bank examiner</p> <p>Mrs. P.W. Myers- Pauline W, wid E W, steno Raleigh Banking & Trust Co.</p> <p>O.D. Porter- Ovid D, owner Porter Candy Co.</p> <p>R.E. Powell- Robt E, clk</p> <p>Miss J.B. Rand- Josephine B., sec N C State Prison</p> <p>R.S. Runnion- Robt S, auditor Thompson Electrical Co Inc (phone)</p> <p>Frank Smethurst- managing editor The News & Observer</p> <p>Miss L.M. Smith- Lillian M., clk Atlantic Joint Stock Land Bank</p> <p>W.R. Smith- Wm R, trav slsmn</p> <p>J.M. Teachey- James M, Jr, slsmn</p> <p>David Terry- slsmn</p> <p>R.D. Thomas – R. Darnell, sec-treas Darnell & Thomas Inc music company pianos and sheet music</p> <p>G.H. Tucker- G. Howard, in charge Natl bank Examiners</p> <p>Miss J.R. Zachary- Jessie R., dentist Odd Fellows' Bldg 11-19 Hargett (phone)</p>
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Raleigh City Directory 1929

Apartment Building Name	Address	Resident Names
The Anncella	619 N. Blount	1- Hobson I. Gattis - mgr. 2-Vacant 3- Thos Ayers - (Anita), spl rep Accidental Life Ins Co 4-Vacant
The Bailey	200 E. Edenton	Louise Mahler restr 1- Rev. Robt W. Bailey - (Frances C.) 2- Louise Mahler - restr 3- W. Spotswood Boyd - (Alice; W.S. Boyd), none 4- Mrs. Louise Haywood - (wid A.W.) 5- Mrs. Cath Lowrey - emp State Dept of Revenue 6- Frances W. Cables - none 7- Walter B. Taggart - sten State Gov (lives with Mrs. Louise Taggart) 8- Alfonzo Lloyd - (Ruth E.) clk
The Cameron Park	1213 Hillsboro	1- Henry R. Wilson - (colored; Annie) 2- Wm O. Bullard - acct clk State Hwy Comm 3- Dyer S. McDowell - credit mgr The Noland Co Inc 4- Delma L. Uzzle - (Margt L) acct C P & L Co 5-Vacant 6-Vacant 7- R. Edw Nichols - (Jean B)supvr 8- Marion B. McCurdy - (Sir Walter Barber Shop) and Mrs. Mary B. McCurdy- sten R.G. Lassiter & Co 9-Vacant 10- H.H. Milan - none 11- Milton Norman - (Martha H) fertilizer 12- Claude D. Martin (no apt. 13 listed)- (Elsie) claim adjuster 14-Vacant 15- Walter H. Jones - (Frances) V-Pres White Dairy Products Co. 16- Robt L. Thompson - (Cuma) slsmgr Brogden Motor Co
The Capital	127 New Bern Avenue	101- Chas A. Goodwin - (Alice) slsmn Goodwin-Smith Furn Co 102- J. Richd Crozier - (Etta) osteo 307 Fayetteville phys director The Healthatorium 103- W. Louis Summers - (Pearl B) Summer's Elec Co. owner 104- Thos W. Sprinkle - (Mary E) no occupation listed 105- Dingley Brown - (Lile) musician 106- Geo W. Marshall - (Mina S) pres-mgr 201- John Mitchell - (Margt C) chf state bank examiner Dept of State Corp Comn

		<p>202-Carl K. Hill- (Mary H) director capital issues State Corp Comn</p> <p>203-Mrs. Fannie K. Thomas- sch tchr</p> <p>204-Homer R. Ellis- (Nora B) rate specialist State Corp Comn</p> <p>205-Robt. W. Winston Jr.- (Annie) Winston Winston & Brassfield</p> <p>206-Mrs. Sarah L. Morris- no occupation listed</p> <p>301-Louis W. Payne- (Hermie C) drftsmn State Hwy comn</p> <p>302-Philip H. Busbee- lawyer</p> <p>303-Paul F. Smith- (Dee D) lawyer</p> <p>304-R. Darnell Thomas- (Bessie C) asst mgr Duff Gore Corp</p> <p>305-Mrs. Ethel N. Marshall- (wid J K) no occupation listed</p> <p>306-Robt A. Brown- (Suzanne C) dept mgr Durham Life Insurance Co</p> <p>401-Mrs. Hattie B. Gerken- (wid Henry J) no occupation listed</p> <p>402-Mrs. Jane S. McKimmon- (wid Chas) no occupation listed</p> <p>403-Mrs. Sadie Malloy- dept mgr Boylan-Pearce Co Inc</p> <p>404-Mrs. Bella Stronach- (wid F M) no occupation listed</p> <p>405-Mrs. Maria K. Crow- (wid C C) no occupation listed</p> <p>406-Dani W. Terry- (Eva G) emp state tax dept</p> <p>501-Mrs. Emeline H. Paul- no occupation listed</p> <p>502-Mrs. Annie S. Ramsey- sten State Dept of Conservation & Development</p> <p>503-Elsie G. Riddick- asst clk State Corp Comn</p> <p>504-Sarah G. Allen- sten Superior Court Clerk's Office</p> <p>505-Jas R. Collie- (Eleanor) dep comnr State Dept of Revenue</p> <p>506-Mrs. Bessie Thompson- clk State Auditor</p>
The Carolina ("Carolina Apartment Hotel Co. North Carolina Hotel Co Underwood H.A. Co archts.")	232 W. Hargett	<p>M-A-Eliz B. Lavender- sec to sec State Industrial Comn</p> <p>M-B-Thos R. Hart- (Mary) tchr N C State College</p> <p>M-C-Milton B. Thorn- (Rae) slsmn The Vogue (Jacobs-Kaplan Co clothing)</p> <p>M-D-Marion Boyd- office sec Smith & Joyner</p> <p>M-E-Fleta J. Hall- nurse State Child Welfare Comn</p> <p>3-A-A.C. Fairy- clk State Ins Dept</p> <p>3-B-R. Ellis Quinn- (Susan; R E Quinn & Co Furniture and Stoves, part owner)</p> <p>3-C-Edgar B. Caldwell- no occupation listed</p> <p>3-D-Sophia J. Williford- nurse Dr L N West</p>

		<p>3-E-Jesse G Ball Jr.- (Cath; Hotel Carolina Garage owner)</p> <p>4-A-Vacant</p> <p>4-B-Robt O. King- (Kath T) no occupation listed</p> <p>4-C-Mrs. Grace McNabb- sten Chickamauga Trust Co.</p> <p>4-D-Chess Hardbarger- pres Miss Hardbarger's Secretarial Sch</p> <p>4-E-Rue E. Laing- (Lucretia M) br mgr C I T Corp</p> <p>5-A-Richd L. Edwards- (Sarah S) pres Capital Life Ins Co</p> <p>5-B-Chas L. Lindsay- (Mary M) no occupation listed</p> <p>5-C-Lee G. Benford- (Joanna) lawyer</p> <p>5-D-Vacant</p> <p>5-E-Walter F. Lewis- (Leone) slsmgr Lewis Sporting Gds Co</p> <p>6-A-Thos J. Johnston Jr.- (Cornelia) mgr The Gt A & P Tea Co</p> <p>6-B-Geo L. Tillery- (Sophia T) rate analyst State Corp Comn</p> <p>6-C-Saml H. Levy- (Eva) no occupation listed</p> <p>6-D-Mrs. Lucia P. Jones- (wid Herbert L) no occupation listed</p> <p>6-E-Vacant</p> <p>7-A-R. Ellis Powell- (Selma) no occupation listed</p> <p>7-B-Wm C. Gettel- (Virginia) dispr N-SRRCo</p> <p>7-C-Edw. W. Donahue- mgr Genl Outdoor Adv Co</p> <p>7-D-H. Louis Cohen- (Hattie) mgr</p> <p>7-E-Junius K. Powell- (Helen) bkpr State Prison</p> <p>8-A-Vacant</p> <p>8-B-E. Johnston Neal- (Aurelia) genl agt Conn Genl Life Ins Co</p> <p>8-C-Robt C. Powell- (Annie) asst mgr Carolina Apt Hotel Co</p> <p>8-D-Martin Poole- no listing</p> <p>8-E-Jesse R. Norris- (Dora) slsmn C C Motor Co</p> <p>9-A-Ross G. Martin- (Ethel) chemist State Laboratory of Hygiene</p> <p>9-B-Frank Page- (Ella) Pres Title Guaranty Ins Co, V-Pres and Associate Trust Officer Wachovia Bank & Trust Co and V-Pres Carolina Mtge Co (phone)</p> <p>9-C-Lottie E. Lewis- lawyer</p> <p>9-D-Paul E. Davis- (Bessie PL and Paul E. Jr-student) no occupation listed</p> <p>9-E-Harold G. Stedman- (Lena S) clk</p>
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The College Court	1904 ½ Hillsboro	1- Mrs. Tima E. Bruton - (wid Jas M) 2- Alonzo O. Alford - (Ella M) tch 3- Mrs. Burma Skinner - slswn Lucielle Shoppe Inc 4- John M. Bennett -(Robinette C) slsmn Montford Plmbg & Htg Co. 5- S. Wesley Yarbrough - (Carrie; Thompson & Yarbrough)
The Cooper	17 Glenwood Avenue	1- Claude H. Bishop - (Virginia L) mtrmn 2- Wm B. Johnson - (Chessie M.) fnshr Sleep-Well Mattress Co 3-Vacant 4- E. Eu Lynch - W Eug clk Gen Outdoor Adv Co 5-Vacant 6- Thos T. McCabe - (Flora B)
The Dixie	5 Dixie Trail	1- Preston E. French - (Blanche) carp 2- Baxter B. Sapp - (Harriet B; Sapp's Welding Service) 3- Clarence H. Andrews - (Nora I) editor Durham Life Insurance Co 4-Vacant
The Dromgoole	425 N. Blount	1- Matthew A. Summerfield - (Jennie B) wtchmkr A W Gholson 2-Vacant 3- Mary S. Yates - librarian State Library Comn 4- Ernest F. Peschau - (Della) adjuster Sou Adjustment Bureau Inc
The Edenhall (Edenhall Dining Room)	229 E. Edenton	1-A-Vacant 1-B-Vacant 1-C- Turner L. Salter - Acct Montgomery- Mutart Inc (phone) 1-D-Vacant 2-A- R.J. Mitchiner Jr. - J R jr ins 2-B- Isabel Young - asst supvr home economics div of vocational educational State Dept of Pub Instruction 2-C-Vacant 2-D- Rebecca F. Cushing - supvr home economics State Dept Public Instruction 2-E- Mrs. Mary F. Harward - sten State Dept of Conservation & Development 2-F-Harward listed twice but only lived in 2E 2-G-Vacant 2-H- Alma Kermon - nurse Dr C W Bell 2-J-Vacant 3-A- Mary Mcl Leak - sten The Citizens Natl Bank 3-B- Gertrude M. Bell - disbursement officer State Adjutant General
The Fincher (African American)	911 E. Martin	1- Edw Fincher - (colored, Annie B) bldg contr 2- Fredk J. Conrad - (colored, Marie) asst dist mgr NC Mut Life Ins Co

		3-Chas Perry- (colored, Isabel) bellmn Sir Walter Hotel and Bell Perry (colored) maid Sir Walter Hotel 4-Wiley Hunter- (colored, Lois) hlpr
The Flat Iron Building	2000 Fairview Road	1-Geo E. O'Neal- (Lillian H.) mgr Montgomery Ward & Co 2-Robt A. Brown- asst supvr industrial rehabilitation division of vocational education State Dept of Public Instruction 3-Randolph H. Person- (Jacksie V) asst mgr 4-Vacant 5-Alf F. Guirkin- (Mary L) real est 6-Juliet's Beauty Spot- Mrs. Juliet E. Spencer 7-Raleigh Piano School- Edna E. Jones
The Gilford	610 Willard Place	1-Vacant 2-A. Clifton Eatman- (Hazel P) eng 3-Earl W. Ellis- (Effie M) purch agt 4-Richd F. Brickhouse- (Lillian H) eng
The Graystone	701 N. Blount	101- Chas M. Purdy- (Ella M) repr 102- Fonzalo J. Pierce- (Pearl) slsmn 103- Robt R. Brown- none 104- Edw L. Foulks- (Louise H) agcy inspr Occidental Life Ins Co 201- R. Gordon Finney- lawyer 202- Sol J. Noreck- (Bertha A.) whol oil 203- D. Henry Allen, Jr.- (Willie R. Allen's Service Sta) 204- Gertrude L. Bush- none
The Guirkin	608 Hillsboro	1-Mrs. Carrie W. Lewis- fitter Taylor's 2-Vacant 3-Vacant 4-Mrs. Evie S. Lawrence- (wid J Hunter) 5-Herman C. Debnam- (Helen) clk
The Hart – same residents as in The Cooper	9-15 Glenwood Avenue	1-Claude H. Bishop 2-Wm B. Johnson 3-Vacant 4-W Eu Lynch 5-Vacant 6-Thos T. McCabe
The Hillcrest	1500 Hillsboro	1-Aigh Mitchell- (Rachel F) trav slsmn 2-Jas W. Bailey- (Carrie C) state agt Phoenix Assurance Co Columbia Ins Co Imperial Assurance Co and United Firemen's Insurance Co 3-Mrs. Lloyd W. Hunt- no occupation listed 4-Vacant
The Hillsboro	323 Hillsboro	1-Alvin W. Jenkins- (Mayme P) bkpr Garland C Norris Co 2-Mrs. Leah Levine- The Ladies' Shop owner 3-Vacant 4-Carl W. Pridgen, Jr.- (Jessie E) attorney Atlantic Joint Stock Land Bank

		<p>5-Andrew M. Beck- (Mamie L) mgr Edwards & Broughton Co 6-Beck listed twice but lives in Apt. 5 7-Geo Wilson- buyer 8-Vacant 9-Josephine Rand- chf clk State prison & Sarah Rand- nurse 10-Robt L. Thompson- (Bess D) reporter News & Observer Pub Co 11-Mrs. Nella A. Mason- (widow John N) 12-Vacant (no 13 apt. listed) 14-Jordon M. Woolard, Jr.- (Beulah B) clk Raleigh Banking & Trust Co 15-Jessie R. Zachary- Dentist Professional Bldg (phone)</p>
The Irene	7 Glenwood Avenue	<p>1-Vacant 2-Vacant</p>
The Jennings	401 S. McDowell	<p>101-Mrs. Lessie Pittard- no occupation listed 102-Lee O. Layton- (Viola M) trav slsmn 103-Andrew L. Ellis- auto mech F W Sales Co 104-Vacant 105-Vacant 106-Mrs. Bessie Baldwin- no occupation listed 201-Virginia Pearce- no occupation listed 202-Mrs. Bessie Wilson- (El Cajon Café) owner 205-Gertrude Horne</p>
The Johnson	122 Hillcrest Road	<p>1-J. Albert Johnson- (Carolina) 2-Chester H. Elmes- (Jeannette C) tchr N C State College 3-Aaron Thorn- (Freda) mgr Globe Clothing Co. 4-Ernest H. Wilson Jr.- (Mary) servicemn Raleigh Tractor & Equipment Co 5-Herbert A. Mooneyham- (Willie F) sec-treas Raleigh Tractor & Equipment Co 6-Albert E. Finley- (Marian N) v-pres Raleigh Tractor & Equipment Co 7-L. Kenneth Scott- (Ruby E) slsmn Duff- Gore Corp</p>
The Parkview	206 E. Jones	<p>101-Paul E. Bommer- mgr Charles Stores Co Inc 102-Mrs. Estelle McLean- slswm C C Gunn & Co 103-Ella B. Stone- no occupation listed 104-Chas D. Stampley- div mgr The L B Price Merc Co 105-Edw C. Myers- (Ruby) trav slsmn 200-J. Frank McHugh- (Mary L) industrial agt 201-Donald A. White- underwriter N C Home Ins Co 202-Jas A. Hill- teller Wachovia Bank & Trust Co 203-Ralph McDonald- (Mabel P) inspr</p>

		Southeastern Compensation Rating Bureau 204- Mabel Barbour - nurse 205- Robt M. Bynum Jr. - (Mickey E) city circulation mgr News & Observer Pub Co 300- Harold D. Lashley - (Dolores C) mgr Palace Theater 301-Vacant 302- John B. Briggs - no occupation listed 303- Fredk W. Habel - drftsmn State Hwy Comn 304-Vacant 305-Vacant
Olivia Raney Library Apartments	105 Hillsboro	Mrs. J. S. Atkinson - (Mrs. James S) librarian Ellen C. King - asst librarian Laura E. King - no occupation listed
The Phillips	102 Logan Court and 700 W. Morgan	1- Nathan M. Lawrence - (Lida V) office mgr Sanders Motor Co Inc 2- Karl C. Garrison - (Ruby H) tchr N C State College 3- David D. Williams - (Lula W) slsmgr N C Cotton Growers Cooperative Assn 4- H. Towles Davis - (Roberta M) curator of geology State Museum
The Rosemont	720 Hillsboro	1- Albert R. Newsome - (Frances E) sec State Historical Comn 2- Helen L. Ellington - sten CP & L Co, home listed as 116 St. Mary's 3- Archie B. Beasley - (Bessie O) slsmn Royall & Borden Furn Co Inc 4-Vacant 5- Guy B. Bowser – (Juanita L) mgr and Chas S. Caldwell - (Maggie P) dept mgr 6- Emmett R. Parker - (Mary S) no occupation listed
The Royster	423-423 ½ Fayetteville	Wm M. McQueen Ida McQueen - hostess The Royster Apts
The Salisbury	20 W. Peace	1-Vacant 2- Mrs. Annie Woodell - (wid Chas H) no occupation listed 3-Vacant 4- Virgil B. Aiken - (Lura M) flagmn
The Swain	121 N. Person	1- Herbert L. Swain - (Olena M) lawyer Gilmer Building, Swain Apartments 2- David W. Morton - (Laura B, Capital Valets clothes, cleaners, pressers) 3- Louise Allen - office asst YWCA 4- Clifford E. Abernethy - county dentist 5- Robt M. Johannesen - (Bernice) mgr Genl Electric Supply Corp 6- Mrs. Vera Paschall - wid John W, none 7- John M. Carmines - (Lillie V) chf clk The Noland Co Inc 8- Mary O'Kelley - asst radio program director

		Durham Life Ins Co
The Townsend	128 N. Harrington	1-Vonved M. Townsend- (Lola R.) cond 2-Clyde M. Bryan- (Florence) slsmn 3-Dani E. Goodwin- (Martha H.) trav slsmn 4-Rosser C. Mullen- (Edna) clk The Noland Co Inc 5-Vacant 6-Vacant
The Vance	105 E. Edenton	101- C. Glenwood Freeman- no listing for this person 102- Mrs. Mary A. Dobbin- (wid T W) pres T W Dobbin Co interior decorators 103- Bernice Brown- no occupation listed 104- Louvel A. Bilisoly- (Lucrece W) acct 105-Fernando W. Parker 106-J. Benj Coppedge 107-Mrs. Gertrude Trapier 108- Wiley J. Boon- (Mabel) pres Boon-Isley Drug Co 109-Vacant 110- Thos A. Partin- (Annie G) asst mgr Boylan-Pearce Co Inc 111- W. Tracy Medlin- (Ruby W) no occupation listed 112- Clem B. Holding- (Katie L) lawyer 201- Weldin E. Hawkins- (Dorothy) emp State Dept of Revenue 202- Ovid D. Porter- (Emma A.; Porter Candy Co owner) 203- Raymond V. Mason- (Josie) auto mech 204-Vacant 205-Vacant 206- Oliver M. Frazier- (Laura) eng 207- Mrs. Mildred S. Hicks- no occupation listed 208- Sherwood Brantley- (Nellie D) Lawyer Masonic Temple Bldg (phone) 209- Wm R. Tighe- (Caroline V) drftsmn State Hwy Comn 210- Mrs. C.S. Allen- no occupation listed 211-Vacant 212- Mrs. Mollie S. Latta- (widow C G) no occupation listed 301- David D. Duncan- (Eula G) associate John N Duncan- lawyer 302- T. J. Gantt- no occupation listed 303- Mrs. Pauline W. Myers- no occupation listed 304- Robt C. Kennedy- (Helen H) no occupation listed 305-Vacant (no listing for 306) 307- Jack Cussons- (Martha I) slsmn 308- Edw B. Yearby- (Miriam S) mgr The Men's

		Shop 309-Vacant 310-Vacant 311- Kath Hamilton - examiner State Dept of Labor & Printing 312-Vacant
The Wilmont	3200-3204 Hillsboro	A-1- Clarence E. Phinney - (Mary E) office mgr Raleigh Intl Co A-2-Vacant A-3- Robt D. Bracken - (Amanda) slsmn A-4- Jos H. Harper - (Estelle) Acct A M Pullen & Co (phone) A-5- Adam T. Holman - (Helen M) ext agrl eng A-6- John F. Neely, Jr. - (Margt B) trav slsmn Garland C Norris & Co A-7- T. Key Maupin - (Ann) ins agt A-8- Arth I. Ladu - (Lena) tchr N C State College B-1- Saml D. Harris - (Mary A) mgr The Bradstreet Co. B-2- H. Barksdale Poindexter - (Mary C) aviator B-3- Saml R. McClellan - S Robt (Evelyn) mgr Am Optical Co B-4- Jas L. Lesane - (Cath L) slsmn B-5-Vacant B-6-Vacant B-7-Vacant B-8- Nell A. Paschal - asst librarian N C State College and Martha C. Galt - tchr C-1-Vacant C-2- Jas B. Rogers - (Rose C) mgr Swift & Co C-3- J. Benbury Haywood - (Lucile G) cotton classer NC Cotton Growers Cooperative Assn C-4-Vacant C-5-Vacant C-6- Geo E. Porter - (Minnie) gen supt CP & L Co gas division C-7-Vacant C-8-Vacant
The York	728 W. Cabarrus	1- Paul S. Dowell - (S Alberta) mgr Cascade Lndy Co Inc 2- Lloyd E. Long - (Lila W) slsmn Hudson-Belk Co 3- Geo U. Baucom, Jr. - (Virginia P) lawyer Lawyer's Bldg and Pres. Southern Title Service Co. 4- Paul H. Kime - (Lillian) sch tchr